

THE  
AMERICAN MUSEUM,

OR  
REPOSITORY

OF ANCIENT AND MODERN  
FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.  
PROSE AND POETICAL.

For SEPTEMBER, 1737.



..... "With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,  
"From various gardens cull'd with care." .....

..... "Colleeta revirescunt."



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T H E  
A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For S E P T E M B E R, 1787.

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*Information for those who wish to remove to America. By his excellency Benjamin Franklin, president of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*

MANY persons in Europe, having, directly or by letters, expressed to the writer of this, who is well acquainted with North America, their desire of transporting and establishing themselves in that country—but who appear to him to have formed, through ignorance, mistaken ideas and expectations of what is to be obtained there—he thinks it may be useful, and prevent inconvenient, expensive, and fruitless removals and voyages of improper persons, if he gives some clearer and truer notions of that part of the world, than appear to have hitherto prevailed.

He finds, it is imagined by numbers, that the inhabitants of North America are rich, capable of rewarding, and disposed to reward, all sorts of ingenuity; that they are, at the same time, ignorant of all the sciences; and consequently, that strangers, possessing talents in the belles-lettres, fine arts, &c. must be highly esteemed, and so well paid, as to become easily rich themselves; that there are also abundance of profitable offices to be disposed of, which the natives are not qualified to fill; and that having few persons of fa-

mily among them, strangers of birth must be greatly respected, and of course easily obtain the best of those offices, which will make all their fortunes; that the governments, too, to encourage emigrations from Europe, not only pay the expense of personal transportation, but give lands gratis to strangers, with negroes to work for them, utensils of husbandry, and flocks of cattle. These are all wild imaginations: and those who go to America, with expectations founded on them, will surely be disappointed.

The truth is, that though there are, in that country, few people so miserable as the poor of Europe—there are also very few that in Europe would be called rich. It is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the soil, and few tenants. Most people cultivate their own lands, or follow some handicraft or merchandise—very few rich enough to live idle upon their rents or incomes; or to pay the high prices given in Europe, for painting, statues, architecture, and the other works of art, that are more curious than useful. Hence, the natural geniuses, that have arisen in America, with such talents, have uniformly quitted that country for Europe, where they can be more suitably

rewarded. It is true that letters and mathematical knowledge are in esteem there : but they are at the same time more common than is apprehended ; there being already existing nine colleges or universities, viz. four in New England, and one in each of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, all furnished with learned professors ; besides a number of smaller academies : these educate many of their youth in the languages, and those sciences that qualify men for the professions of divinity, law, or physic. Strangers, indeed, are by no means excluded from exercising those professions ; and the quick increase of inhabitants every where, gives them a chance of employ, which they have in common with the natives. Of civil offices or employments, there are few ; no superfluous ones as in Europe : and it is a rule established in some of the states, that no office should be so profitable as to make it desirable. The 26th article of the constitution of Pennsylvania, runs expressly in these words : " As every freeman, to preserve his independence (if he has not a sufficient estate) ought to have some profession, calling, trade, or farm, whereby he may honestly subsist, there can be no necessity for, nor use in, establishing offices of profit ; the usual effects of which are dependence and servility, unbecoming freemen, in the possessors and expectants ; faction, contention, corruption, and disorder among the people. Wherefore whenever an office, through increase of fees or otherwise, becomes so profitable as to occasion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the legislature."

These ideas prevailing more or less in all the united states, it cannot be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate himself in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America ; and

as to military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being disbanded. Much less is it advisable for a person to go thither who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe it has indeed its value ; but it is a commodity than cannot be carried to a worse market than that of America, where people do not enquire, concerning a stranger, what is he ? but, what can he do ? If he has any useful art, he is welcome ; and if he exercises it, and behaves well, he will be respected by all that know him. But a mere man of quality, who, on that account, wants to live upon the public, by some office or salary, will be despised and disregarded. The husbandman is in honour there, and even the mechanic, because their employments are useful. The people have a saying, that God Almighty is himself a mechanic, the greatest in the universe ; and he is respected and admired more for the variety, ingenuity, and utility of his handy works, than for the antiquity of his family. They are pleased with the observation of a negro, and frequently mention it, that Boccarorra (meaning the white man) make de black man workee, make de horse workee, make de ox workee, make ebery ting workee ; only de hog. He de hog no workee ; he eat, he drink, he walk about, he go to sleep when he pleas, he lib like a gentleman. According to these opinions of the Americans, one of them would think himself more obliged to a genealogist, who could prove for him that his ancestors and relations for ten generations had been ploughmen, smiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, tanners, or shoemakers, and consequently that they were useful members of society ; than if he could only prove that were gentlemen doing nothing of value, but living idly on the labour of others, mere *fruges consumere nati*, and otherwise good for nothing, till by



their death, their estates, like the carcase of the negro's gentleman-hog, come to be cut up.

With regard to encouragements for strangers from government, they are really only what are derived from good laws and liberty. Strangers are welcome; because there is room enough for them all: and therefore the old inhabitants are not jealous of them. The laws protect them sufficiently, so that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy securely the profits of his industry. But if he does not bring a fortune with him, he must work, and be industrious, to live. One or two years residence give him all the rights of a citizen: but the government does not at present, whatever it may have done in former times, hire people to become settlers, by paying their passages, giving land, negroes, utensils, stock, or any other kind of emolument whatsoever. In short, America is the land of labour, and by no means what the English call lubberland, and the French *pays de cocagne*, where the streets are said to be paved with half peck loaves, the houses tiled with pancakes, and where the fowls fly about ready roasted, crying, "come eat me!"

Who then are the kind of persons to whom an emigration to America may be advantageous? And what are the advantages they may reasonably expect?

Land being cheap in that country, from the vast forests still void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, inasmuch that the property of an hundred acres of fertile soil, full of wood, may be obtained near the frontiers in many places, for eight or ten guineas, hearty, young, labouring men, who understand the husbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the same in that country as in Europe, may easily establish themselves there. A little mo-

ney, saved of the good wages they receive there while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are assisted by the good will of their neighbours, and some credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, have, by this means, in a few years, become wealthy farmers, who in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied, and the wages of labour low, could never have emerged from the mean condition wherein they were born.

From the salubrity of the air, the healthiness of the climate, the plenty of good provisions, and the encouragement to early marriages, by the certainty of subsistence in cultivating the earth, the increase of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes still more so by the accession of strangers. Hence there is a continual demand for more artificers of all the necessary and useful kinds, to supply those cultivators of the earth with houses, and with furniture and utensils of the grosser sort, which cannot so well be brought from Europe. Tolerably good workmen in any of those mechanic arts, are sure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work, there being no restraints preventing strangers from exercising any art they understand, nor any permission necessary. If they are poor, they begin first as servants or journeymen; and if they are sober, industrious, and frugal, they soon become masters, establish themselves in business, marry, raise families, and become respectable citizens.

Also persons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who, having a number of children to provide for, are desirous of bringing them up to industry, and to secure estates for their posterity, have opportunities of doing it in America which Europe does not afford. There they may be

taught and practice profitable mechanic arts, without incurring disgrace on that account; but on the contrary acquiring respect by their abilities. Their small capitals, laid out in lands, which daily become more valuable by the increase of people, afford a solid prospect of ample fortune thereafter for those children. The writer of this has known several instances of large tracts of land, bought on what was then the frontiers of Pennsylvania, for ten pounds per hundred acres, which, after twenty years, when the settlements had been extended far beyond them, sold readily without any improvement made upon them, for three pounds per acre. The acre in America is the same with the English acre, or the acre of Normandy.

Those who desire to understand the state of government in America, would do well to read the constitutions of the several states, and the articles of confederation that bind the whole together for general purposes, under the direction of one assembly called the congress. These constitutions have been printed by order of congress in America: two editions of them have also been printed in London: and a good translation of them into French, has lately been published at Paris.

Several of the princes of Europe having of late, from an opinion of advantage to arise by producing all commodities and manufactures within their own dominions, so as to diminish or render useless their importations, endeavoured to entice workmen from other countries, by high salaries, privileges, &c.—many persons, pretending to be skilled in various great manufactures, imagining that America must be in want of them, and that congress would probably be disposed to imitate the princes above mentioned, have proposed to go over, on condition of having their passages paid, lands

given, salaries appointed, exclusive privileges for terms of years, &c. Such persons, on reading the articles of confederation, will find that the congress have no power committed to them, or money put into their hands, for such purposes; and that if any such encouragement is given, it must be by the government of some separate state. This, however, has rarely been done in America; and when it has been done, it has rarely succeeded, so as to establish a manufacture, which the country was not yet so ripe for as to encourage private persons to set it up; labour being generally too dear there, and hands difficult to be kept together, every one desiring to be a master, and the cheapness of land inclining many to leave trades for agriculture. Some indeed have met with success, and are carried on to advantage: but they are generally such as require only a few hands, or wherein great part of the work is performed by machines. Goods that are bulky, and of so small value as not well to bear the expense of freight, may often be made cheaper in the country than they can be imported; and the manufacture of such goods will be profitable wherever there is a sufficient demand. The farmers in America produce indeed a good deal of wool and flax; and none is exported; it is all worked up; but it is in the way of domestic manufacture, for the use of the family. The buying up quantities of wool and flax with the design to employ spinners, weavers, &c. and form great establishments, producing quantities of linen and woollen goods for sale, has been several times attempted in different provinces: but those projects have generally failed, goods of equal value being imported cheaper. And when the governments have been solicited to support such schemes by encouragements, in money or by imposing duties on the importation of such goods, it has been generally

refused, on this principle, that if the country is ripe for the manufacture, it may be carried on by private persons to advantage; and if not, it is a folly to think of forcing nature. Great establishments of manufactures, require great numbers of poor to work for small wages; these poor are to be found in Europe, but will not be found in America, till the lands are all taken up and cultivated, and the excess of people, who cannot get land, want employment. The manufacture of silk, they say, is natural in France, as that of cloth in England, because each country produces in plenty the first material. But if England will have a manufacture of silk, as well as that of cloth, and France one of cloth, as well as that of silk, these unnatural operations must be supported by mutual prohibitions, or high duties on the importation of each others goods; by which means the workmen are enabled to tax the home consumer by greater prices, while the higher wages they receive make them neither happier or richer, since they only drink more and work less. Therefore the governments in America do nothing to encourage such projects. The people, by this means, are not imposed on either by the merchant or mechanic. If the merchant demands too much profit on imported shoes, they buy of the shoemaker; and if he asks too high a price, they take them of the merchant. Thus the two professions are checks on each other. The shoemaker, however, has, on the whole, a considerable profit upon his labour in America, beyond what he had in Europe, as he can add to his price a sum nearly equal to all the expenses of freight and commission, risque or insurance, &c. necessarily charged by the merchants. And the case is the same with workmen in every other mechanic art. Hence it is, that artisans generally live better and more easily in America than in Europe;

and such as are good economists, make a comfortable provision for age, and for their children. Such may, therefore, remove with advantage to America.

In the old long-settled countries of Europe, all arts, trades, professions, farms, &c. are so full, that it is difficult for a poor man, who has children, to place them where they may gain, or learn to gain a decent livelihood. The artisans, who fear creating future rivals in business, refuse to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, or the like, which the parents are unable to comply with. Hence the youth are brought up in ignorance of every gainful art, and obliged to become soldiers, or servants, or thieves, for a subsistence. In America, the rapid increase of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalry; and artisans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labour, during the remainder of the time stipulated, ~~that~~ they shall be instructed. Hence it is easy for poor families to get their children instructed; for the artisans are so desirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents, to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them, till the age of twenty-one: and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raised money enough to buy land sufficient to establish themselves, and to subsist the rest of their family by agriculture. These contracts for apprentices are made before a magistrate, who regulates the agreement according to reason and justice; and having in view the formation of a future useful citizen, obliges the master to engage by a written indenture, not only that during the time of service stipulated, the apprentice shall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging, and at its expiration with a complete new suit of

clothes, but also that he shall be taught to read, write, and cast accounts; and that he shall be well instructed in the art or profession of his master, or in some other, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raise a family. A copy of this indenture is given to the apprentice or his friends, and the magistrate keeps a record of it, to which recourse may be had, in case of failure by the master in any point of performance. This desire among the masters to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the passages of young persons, of both sexes, who on their arrival agree to serve them one, two, three, or four years; those, who have already learned a trade, agreeing for a shorter term, in proportion to their skill, and the consequent immediate value of their service; and those who have none, agreeing for a longer term, in consideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almost general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America, obliging its people to follow some business for subsistence, those vices that arise usually from idleness, are in a great measure prevented. Industry and constant employment are great preservatives of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which must be a comfortable consideration to parents. To this may be truly added, that serious religion, under its various denominations, is not only tolerated, but respected and practised. Atheism is unknown there; infidelity rare and secret; so that persons may live to a great age in that country without having their piety shocked by meeting with either an atheist or an infidel. And the Divine Being seems to have manifested his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindness with which the

different sects treat each other, by the remarkable prosperity with which he has been pleased to favour the whole country.—Pally, 1784.



*Essay on the fatal tendency of the prevailing luxuries; on the steps necessary to advance the happiness of America; on paper emissions; on the injustice of defrauding the creditor for the benefit of the debtor, &c. &c.*

*To the people of America.*

W H E T H E R anarchy, confusion, and depravity of sentiment shall now prevail amongst us, and level us beneath the meanest of our species; or virtue with her smiles, shall establish her sovereignty and make us honest, industrious, and respectable among the nations, seems now to be the question. What then is the inference? Ask this of reason, and she will tell you, it is, to every of her votaries, sufficiently obvious. To establish the first, must eventually be destructive to our promised happiness, both temporal and eternal. To establish the latter, must, in every of its consequences, be conducive to both. Can we then one moment hesitate, to make virtue our choice! Consider, if you have no concern for your own welfare, be not so cruel as to sport with the happiness of your posterity. Of precept, example has always the precedence. By those of riper years, therefore, should virtuous examples be held forth to the young and unthinking; whose minds, being tender, are susceptible of the slightest touch, and in general must yield to the earliest impressions. Have you no ambition, or none that is worthy of a rational mind? If you wish to bestow on your children a treasure, inspire them with virtue! But to you, alas! her charms are not visible! the tinsel robes of vice



have long bewildered your senses, and hurried you with the stream, into almost inextricable difficulties. Your complaints indeed are grievous; but a wrong cause is assigned for your misfortunes: a remedy, however, is still within your reach—Determine to be virtuous!

After having struggled through a long and hostile probation, why, in the arms of peace, do you countenance the follies of your late competitors, and hurry yourselves into the depths of luxury and dissipation, so repugnant to your health, your happiness, your honour! Despise their vices, but emulate their virtues—They hold forth to your view a most useful example, and prove, to a certainty, the truth of my assertion—that our political existence rests wholly on ourselves, and not on the smiles of our enemies. If we choose to be happy, to be so is in our power; our internal resources are now fully sufficient, and, with a well-timed economy, superfluities would abound, and raise us to the level of the most exalted nations—Why call we so loudly for commerce with foreigners!—It is, most certainly, at present quite opposite to our interest—Does it not determine the balance much against us, through every channel by which we pursue it?—What then must be the consequence? The terms upon which a country in its infancy, must carry on a commercial intercourse with one long established, are not equal; since produce and manufactures bear so small a proportion to each other. It is the interest of foreigners to furnish us with fashions; but is it our interest to follow them? Must it not eradicate the spirit of industry, frugality, and economy, and hurry us into the opposite extremes, indolence, dissipation, and ruin? Does not every day's experience indisputably prove the insufficiency of our virtue to resist the bewitching temptation—I mean of

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foreign flipperies? Why then do not we, with all our might, discourage this commerce with foreigners—the bane of our happiness! the poison of our well-being!

While we were a part of the British empire, it was the interest of that government, to divert our attention from every pursuit that could tend to raise in our minds a laudable emulation, excepting that of the cultivation of the land: this in them, no doubt, was then good policy, as it secured to them only, the profits of our labour, on the conditions upon which they obliged us to exchange our produce for their manufactures. For what, then, did we wish to be independent, if not to secure these profits to ourselves, and turn the balance of trade in our favour? Our latter conduct, I think, has more than proved, that our views had no such motives, or else has more than proved, that virtue was wanting, or our ideas too contracted to reach beyond the present. No sooner were we declared an independent people, but we abandoned our patron, and offered our embraces to every rude invader. In our ports was soon displayed every luxury of the east, and our tables were spread with profusion—Industry fell a victim to dissipation and excess, and vice soon triumphed over virtue! Strange infatuation! horrid depravity! destructive policy! thoughtless creatures, blind to our own interest, and led away with bubbles big with emptiness alone, that must vanish in an instant, and leave us in the lurch! The cause of our own misconduct we now want to saddle upon others. We have indulged ourselves in luxuries beyond the reach of our abilities, and now want to be relieved of the consequent inconveniencies thereof, by unheard of acts of injustice. If the merchant was obnoxious to our welfare, why did we encourage him? Why did we bid him welcome, and court his

B



friendship? Why were we absorbed in thoughtless extravagance? Why had we not an eye on the future? If it was the merchant's policy, for a while, to bid high for our produce, and thereby to flatter our expectation, and lead us into errors, can we blame him? In so doing, he only consulted his own interest, without, perhaps, meditating any person's ruin, which was doing no more than was every one's duty; and held forth a lesson to the planter. If the planter had been as mindful of his interest, as the merchant, he would now feel easy in his circumstances, and the merchant's accounts have been settled. For the planter's errors, the merchant is not culpable—In offering us his wares, he did us no injury—To take them, was an act of our own, altogether voluntary; we cannot say that any compulsion was used. Why then so heavily complain of the merchant, and load him with censure for our own stupidity? Let us be ashamed of our littleness! Let us for once determine to be honest! Let us dispose of our property, and discharge our obligations to the merchant, or think it no crime to acknowledge his indulgence; and henceforward, likewise determine to be frugal, industrious, and virtuous: to live within the bounds of our income, be they ever so contracted, and by thus reversing our past conduct, doubt not of being happy.

If, instead of bewildering ourselves in the idle dreams of commerce, after our independency was fully effected, we had rejected her smiles, and wholly bent our thoughts on the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and the cultivation of the most useful arts and sciences, we should, no doubt, by this time, have been a rich, flourishing, and respectable people; nay, by now adopting a similar policy, we could not fail of soon becoming such—What but frugality, industry, and emulation, can possibly

be wanting, to effect our prosperity, and raise us to the summit of human greatness? Have we not a productive soil, and almost unlimited extent of country, abounding in the luxuries of nature, which, were our connexions with other nations to be forever cut off, would supply us with every necessary! The luxuries of art, till they are the reward of our own labour, are highly pernicious, and destructive to our welfare. Were we a manufacturing people, nothing, according to what is generally understood by the common acceptance of the word, would be a luxury; or have in its use, the same pernicious tendency, as the use of foreign superfluities must at present have with us. In manufacturing countries the middle and lower classes of people are chiefly employed, or concerned therein: the promotion of luxury, excess, and dissipation, therefore, is, in them, perhaps, good policy; at least national, as it takes only from the opulent and relieves the needy: but to encourage the use of foreign luxuries with us, woful experience, I should think, had sufficiently convinced us, would not be so friendly; but, as the most rapacious peculator, would plunder without mercy, and deal out a general devastation.

Since, then, it cannot but be clear, to every thinking person, that commerce with foreigners, upon its present foundation, must greatly militate against us; what remedies, for the growing evil, have we attempted? None, I think; or none adequate. To impose high duties upon imports, in a country whose coast is as much exposed as ours, cannot possibly long answer any good purpose. It will never amount to a prohibition—It will not much lessen the consumption—It will only encourage smuggling—rob the revenue—and exact something more from the planter. If any thing is to be done by duties, ours should be regula-

ted by those of the neighbouring states, or they will profit by our errors. But no perceivable good is to be expected, from any conceivable mode of imposing duties; nor could any thing more salutary be expected, from an absolute prohibition of the importation of foreign luxuries; for were they allowed to be made use of, after they were in the country, to get them there, would be attended with no difficulty. Is not our coast entirely unguarded, and have not we two neighbouring states, whose interest it would then be to encourage smuggling? or can we be weak enough to believe, that the virtue of the inhabitants of our sea coast, and of the frontiers of Maryland and North-Carolina, would long be proof against the promising temptation? No; individuals, conveniently situated for the encouragement of such illicit practices, would not long fail to see, therein, their own advantage; and were the duties high enough to make it an object worth their while to smuggle, or was the importation prohibited, which would amount to much the same thing, we should, thereby, be still amply supplied, with those very luxuries, through almost every channel by which we now get them, without either bringing any thing into the treasury, or affording any relief to the planter: nay the very officers of the customs, and guardians of the public revenue, no doubt, would soon be corrupted, and be seen amongst the foremost to encourage the abuse.

In a prohibition of the use, only, then, can we promise ourselves success. They should be destroyed in the hands of the merchant, or wherever else they were found; or be in some way secured, till there might be a sufficiency to make it convenient to send them to some other market, there to be disposed of for the benefit of the public and the informer—this, though it might not at once en-

tirely remove, would, no doubt, sufficiently check the growing evil, and insensibly relieve us;—for, was the use of foreign luxuries prohibited, the importation would, in a good measure, of course cease—the merchant once knowing his risk in keeping them, would no longer think of importing them.

I am not unaware, here, that some will be ready enough to call the mode of proceeding I have just now pointed out, an insufferable stretch of power, incompatible with the nature of a free government, and think it a hardship, that bounds shall be set to their extravagance, by any authority whatever. But knowing the laws, to act in defiance thereof, why should it not in every individual, be just as criminal, and equally punishable, as in some, who for smuggling, have lost cargo and vessel? No law, however rigid it may to some at first seem, that may, in its operation, have a general good effect, under any form of government whatever, can, with propriety, be so called—for what were laws first intended? or why were such coercions ever found necessary, if not to curb people's vices—to oblige them to be frugal, industrious, and honest—to live within the bounds of their income—to be virtuous and finally happy? The ideas, which we are too apt to entertain of power, are often more arbitrary than the power from whence they are formed. In the extravagance of thought, and the ungovernable heat of passion, we hurry ourselves into errors, and are apt to mistake those for insufferable stretches of power, which, upon a closer, more deliberate, and impartial examination, we find to be only the most necessary exertions. Power should always have energy, or it will soon degenerate into impotency, and at length be supplanted by anarchy. Whether, let me ask, is a stretch of power the more intolerable, to oblige

people to be frugal while they are possessed of something; or after they have finished their wild career, and the measure of their iniquities is pretty near full, to give their conduct the last faint colouring of honesty, and, to do the little justice left to their creditors, reduce them to beggary? The first, we are sure, to the unthinking multitude, would seem most oppressive; but, if either of them are deserving of so harsh a name, I doubt not, but the few rationalists would soon determine it to be the latter—but that neither of them are insufferable stretches, I imagine, will be readily allowed, and that we may venture to call them but necessary exertions, in no wise derogatory to sound policy.

There perhaps may be some few, whose fortunes, for a while, might enable them to indulge themselves in the use of foreign luxuries, without much inconvenience; but even to these, or their posterity, in the end, the use of them must be destructive; and supposing it was not, does it imply, that, in order to indulge these few, we should sport with the welfare of a multitude! Example, we know, has often a very good effect, and for this, people, in general, look up to their superiors, or those in better circumstances. If, then, the few possessed of ample fortunes, do not set examples of frugality and economy, to those whose fortunes are more contracted, what must be the consequence? Why, it is sufficiently clear, that the latter would follow the former, through every species of vice, folly, and dissipation, till their condition was irretrievably desperate.—One wealthy man in a neighbourhood, may be the ruin of many, by making those his companions, whose fortunes will not admit of his extravagance.—The truth of this, I doubt not, we have too often seen verified.

AMICUS.

*Chesterfield, Virginia, June 7, 1787.*

#### ANECDOTE.

A Young student, shewing the Museum at Oxon, to some gentlemen and ladies, among other things produced a rusty sword. This, says he, gentlemen, is the sword with which Balaam was going to kill his ass. Upon which one of the company replied, that he thought Balaam had no sword, but only wished for one. You are right, says the student, and this is the very sword he wished for.

—•••••

*Political sketches :*

*By William Vans Murray, esq.*

*"Nullius addictus jurare in verba  
"magistri."*

#### DEDICATION.

To his excellency John Adams, minister plenipotentiary from the united states, to the court of Great Britain.

SIR,

From the moment in which I made the governments of my country the subject of my study, they have been the object of my admiration. Excepting the vein of popularity that pervades them, and which evidently hath weakened the executive arm, perhaps they are perfect.

Some objections, derived from false theories, are made to them—These I have attempted to remove.

It hath been urged, that democratic forms required a tone of manners unattainable and unpreservable in a society where commerce, luxury, and the arts, have disposed the public mind to the gratifications of refinement. This proposition is difficultly opposed. To dissolve it, it will be necessary to take a new ground, and a new scene of detail; for the antiquity of the idea hath given it a prescription, superior to every thing but arguments drawn from a novel series of political events.

That the governments of the unit-

ed states would resolve into aristocracies, is a position which I have attempted to oppose.

The extent of territory is another objection made by such as theorise on the American democracies.

The contemplation of these points produced the following sheets, which were written in 1784 and 1785, immediately after the publication of "Abbe Mably's remarks." However humble their execution, the honesty of the zeal, by which they were dictated, entitles them in some degree to the indulgence of a patriotic mind. Under this impression, and conscious that my country would feel gratified by every tribute of respect, however small, that should be offered to you, I have taken the liberty of inscribing these enquiries to your excellency.

I have the honour to be,  
with the greatest deference,

SIR,  
your most obedient  
and most humble servant,

*A citizen of the united states.*

*Middle Temple,*

*April, 1787.*

I.

*Abbe Mably.*

THE governments of America have deservedly attracted the attention of all speculative minds. It is an object of some importance to the cause of liberty, all over the world, that they should be understood. They present the most finished political forms. On their practicability, and on the justness with which they may have been adjusted to the purposes of society, depends the problem, whether, under every co-operation of moral, political, and physical causes, a government can be formed, unexceptionably free in form, and yet, in its administration, durable and efficient.

The subject is highly interesting: and deserves a philosophical survey

of the opinions, theories, and situations, which the contemplation will involve.

Among the philosophers who have written upon this subject, is the abbe Mably; a man no less distinguished by the liberality of his principles, than by the acuteness of his investigations. But even his mind, enlightened as it was by science, and fostered by philosophy, was not equal to a just discernment of the governments on which he favoured the world with remarks. The splendor of his classical and historical acquirements, but poorly compensates the mischiefs of their application. While it dazzled, it could not conduct him; and he will be found, on an examination of his remarks, to have wandered through scenes of fancied similarity, unguided by that unerring principle of history, which leads with scientific certainty, from effects to causes, through the medium of authenticated facts.

He is learned, philosophical, and eloquent. His views of the political horizon are commanding: but learning, like blood, may increase the fever of mistake, philosophy contemplate through a false medium, and eloquence lead to a victory of error. In his reasoning, he has adopted a rule that will account for his mistakes. He compares certain events in history, and certain institutions of the ancients, with the events of the American revolution, her laws, and governments. To appear learned, he seems almost willing to be deceived. A man possessed of local information, from his education in the very scenes he would contemplate, is, though inferior in point of intellect and mental endowment, better qualified, perhaps, for a task which demands less the labours of erudition, than the accuracy of observation.

It was with a deference due to the name of Mably, that I perused his remarks. But having seen the



wild errors of other great men who have amused America with her own character and fortunes, it was with less disappointment that I read the erroneous conclusions, and fanciful conjectures, of the elegant author of the dialogues.

To detect, as well as to applaud, is the mingled office of criticism. Of all the duties of taste, this is the least enviable. In the natural world, a transition from beauty to ugliness, is a painful operation to the feelings; but it is infinitely more irksome in speculative contemplations, where the imagination, unassisted by the senses, has to work in the violence of extremes, and the judgment has to combat that delusion which the tissue of truth and sophistry forms in the etchings of the mental picture.

Abbe Mably is a Frenchman and a scholar. As the first, he has been educated after the strictest manner of a free monarchy. As the last, the genius of antiquity, with which his mind was inspired, hath served but to mislead him. As a Frenchman, he can have but little idea of the effect of a free constitution, in a country governed by laws and habits different from those which characterise his own. If he ventures on a conclusion concerning the operation of a law in the united states, it must be by ascertaining, through reasonable inferences, the effect the same law would produce in his own, or any country in Europe with which he is acquainted. As a scholar, if he would fix the success of a rule of politics, or law, he can find no guide but that fancied analogy which the ancient republics afford him. In the first part of his process, the supposition would involve so wild a contrariety of manners, usages, ranks, and political forms, that no inference could possibly be drawn. In the last, the picture of ancient governments, except in a zeal for freedom, could furnish but a slight resemblance to

the American democracies. Those were composed of heterogeneous parts and principles, and resembled the American governments in little more than in name. That sort of representation, which is the very basis of these, was unknown to them. Those were of a mixed, a military, and of an aristocratic, sometimes regal nature. These are, in their principles, structure, and whole mass, purely and unalterably democratic. They could not be any other; they cannot be any other.

Never was there, before the American revolution, an instance of a nation forming its own government, on the original foundations of human rights, revealed by a study of the laws of nature; and creating every civil organ, agreeably to the three acts, which constitute just government. Never did there exist such a scene as that, which, on the revolution, took place in America, where the people, by their own act, without any usurpation or turn of parties, on a sudden, found themselves in a state of the most civilized and complicated associations, without government; and in that state formed the original convention, on grounds of undisputed equality; framed a form of civil government, founded in the rights of nature, unobscured by charters, privileges, or monopolies of power; and then bound themselves by the third and last tie of allegiance. The democratic form was the only one a people so situated could adopt.

Other governments have been fashioned on the inequalities which accident introduced into human relations, and which force and ambition have most whimsically diversified. Their origin hath been laid in the more than cimmerian darkness of antiquity; and the rights of society, which government is meant to promote, to display, and to secure, have invariably been ascertained subse-



quently to the era, that by various habits and institutions, hath involved them in inextricable confusion.

Of this unhappy origin were the ancient governments. This might easily be ascertained, to any one unblinded by an early imbibed admiration of what are deemed models of virtue and political wisdom, but which, when dispassionately viewed, will be found to have been, like the governments of Europe, systems of expedience, daily harmonizing from that discordant chaos in which they were conceived, but which still fatally retained many miserable features and vestiges of inauspicious birth.

From the progress of political opinions in England, which a spirit of enquiry, notwithstanding the tendencies of monarchy, had diffused, America felt herself countenanced in that freedom of reasoning, which the contemplation of her colonial governments, and the great examples of her parent, naturally inspired. But, however she may have been affected by the general diffusion of this knowledge, she owed her exertions of reasoning less to example, than to her temper, situation, and political relations. To these was she indebted for that just and bold spirit of thinking, on the great points of government and of religion, which she could not have borrowed from ancient story, or imitated from any living model. From them her state was different; and where little or no analogy could be found, she could owe little to sympathy or adoption.

The example of ancient democracies furnished to her a very confused lesson; and, though their pictures are rendered highly endearing to classic minds, it would have been dangerous to have trusted the fate of new governments, to an imitation of republics, the structures of which presented an arrangement different from such as she could adopt: for in them she saw the efforts of enthusiasm,

glorious but inconstant in its operations, rather than the vigour of well-toned constitutions. From such precedents, America could derive little more than the contagion of enthusiasm. From antiquity, then, she could gain little. She was too proud of the pure sources to which she was indebted for her prosperity, to stoop to an imitation of modern governments, which were founded in the anarchy of a barbarous age. These she beheld trembling under the infirmities of a vicious old age; involved in the contradictions of civil and religious solecisms; and weakened by the corruptions natural to human institutions, when not inspired by that renovating spirit, which first principles, when recurred to, are capable of infusing.

In point of civil and religious happiness, England stood alone. From her only could America imbibe that spirit of freedom which she inherited.

A coincidence of events, as rare as they were happy, enabled America to complete that lesson, which she has so gloriously exhibited to the world. When she was settled by colonies, she was invested with the democratic parts of the English constitution; and though she acknowledged a sovereignty in the kings of England, the rays of royalty but feebly reached their western point, and communicated, in the rougher stages of the society, that genial warmth which nourished, but could not wither the tree of freedom. Little of the personal idea of king, ever obtained in the western world. The aristocratic branch of the English constitution, in its true character, was there unknown; and did not therefore communicate its impressions on her legislative forms, or the genius of the society. But notwithstanding she was unacquainted with nobles and with kings, she reaped, in her humble career of agriculture, every

solid advantage which flowed from her political inheritance, without suffering those evils, which that part of the parental constitution, which she did not possess, was designed to prevent. She tasted largely of political freedom. What never can be enjoyed in England, she possessed—the freedom of democracy, without its anarchy.

Reared under a fortune so propitious to liberty, her laws, her religions partook of the proportions and liberality of her governments. On the one hand, protected against the dangers of licentiousness, and endowed, on the other, with the gifts of genuine freedom, her character became fashioned to that shape, which had often been imagined, but never seen, where the rights of national manhood were not impaired, by the intemperance and accidents that fill up the long dark childhood of the species.

Governments have received their bias and characteristic weaknesses, in the early stages of the species. In those days of barbarous ignorance; the rights of society were little understood; and the indefinite powers of the collective capacity, were thrown into action by the violence of exigency and expedience, rather than by the energies of regular system. Their imperfections flowed from errors that could hardly be avoided. These, as fast as they have revealed themselves, may have been partially corrected. As wants increased, by the expansion of the character, improvements have advanced; but yet many centuries of sufferings have not every where been able to divest rights, and the active springs of government, of those unintelligible forms in which distant causes clothed them.

To politicians, whose minds could at all “look into the seeds of time,” and whose hearts were liberal enough to anticipate those blessing of their

colonial descendants, which the severity of ruder times denied to themselves, the glorious era of the American revolution could not have been a chimerical vision. And if a theatre for the display of the great drama of the human character was ever fondly formed in the brain of a Locke, or a Sydney, the united states at this moment, and in that indeed preceding their revolution, realized the philosophical expectation. So nearly have they approached perfection, that the great and unexceptionable correctness and purity of their democracies, are the only objections raised against their practicability and duration. But in the objection, a number of false premises are assumed; premises which the history of mankind will by no means warrant; which the indolence of some, and the depravity of others, have admitted, for purposes of speculative argument.

The great positions, by which objections to the democratic form are maintained, flow from the consequences of the human character acting in political situations unfriendly to its nature, rather than from causes inherent in that particular form of government itself.

“The multitude in the united states,” says abbe Mably, “will prove much less presuming, much less imperious, and consequently much less inconstant than in the Roman republic:” but not because the extent of dominion prevents the assemblings of the people at one time. They will be less inconstant than the Romans, because they have been educated under laws that have at once regulated the manners and cherished that passion for equality, which knows no restraint, but such as laws, made by their own consent, have given it. And because a change in the prevailing passion of the age has given a milder cast to their other passions, and the occasions are removed, from which the presumption and clamour

of the Roman people received their fuel. Faction, which in Rome was ever written in bloody inscriptions, is unknown : it is unknown, because the American democracies are governments of laws, and not of parties.

Comparison, on this occasion, must do great injustice to a subject, which is only to be tried on original principles.

The abbe has said, that the situation of America, immediately after the declaration of independence, was similar to that of Rome, immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins. There is not a trace of resemblance. All persons of taste would pity the man who could read the origin of the Roman republic without admiration. Simplicity of manners, and boldness of action, afford a most engaging picture, and deeply interest in the early stages of its history. But the freedom enjoyed, was that of a tribe of Germans, as described by Tacitus. Constitutional liberty seems to have been as little understood, as it would have been enjoyed, had they adopted a system superior to their manners and comprehensions.

Until the expulsion of the Tarquins, the government was a monarchy, frequently confused by the intervention of democratic fury. By various changes, suggested by such interventions, additional privileges were granted or assumed by the order of patricians, which superseded the grand question of policy, whether property, or numbers should rule the state. With this bias, already active, it is not surprising that an aristocracy succeeded the expulsion of Tarquin. The distinction of ranks, created in the infancy of the state, now rose in the most invidious shapes. The plebeians were excluded from a participation in the government. Hence those jealousies and animosities that naturally sprang from ambition on the one side, and, on the other, from hereditary ho-

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nours, and an impatience of competition.

It is impossible to know the state of affairs in America, at the period which is compared by the learned abbe, to that of the suppression of the Roman monarchy, and find the slightest line of similitude in their causes or in their consequences. This struggle was the contention of tyrants. That in America was of a whole nation oppressed, against its oppressors, and a general freedom was the object. There was between the two countries a civil, juridical, commercial, moral, and religious, as well as a political difference. Hence it is demonstrable, that the circumstances of the two people differed widely. In Rome an aristocracy possessed all the dignities, offices, and emoluments of state. The plebeians, which class included all under the rank of nobles, were excluded from all share in the government ; nor could the body of citizens claim a title to govern, who possessed few rights either of property or person. The relation of the two orders was that of client and patron. And if we attend to the succeeding struggles, which were made to gain landed property by the plebeians, and the opposition of the patricians, who seemed possessed of the right of disposal, we may conclude, that of the small territory then possessed by the republic, none was in the hands of the plebeians ; and that they were, indeed, agreeably to the ideas of their patrons, deemed incapable of taking by descent or purchase.

The imperfection of their laws shows the small progress legislation had made ; for at that period, the twelve tables were not compiled.

The imperfection of their jurisprudence shows how lame their notions were, of the forms of all civil government. Their magistrates were not appointed to trusts, whose ex-

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tents were known or distinguished by any fixed character.

The consul, who was supposed to substitute as much of the regal character as was deemed necessary by the aristocracy, was at once general of the army, judge, and magistrate.

The want of energy in the powers of their government, obliged the senate—the people had nothing to do in this important transaction—to vest sovereign power in a dictator, whose sole limits consisted in nothing but in the term of his official duration. By throwing the sovereignty into the hands of any man whom the senate, or aristocracy should appoint, all right to a share in the government, was denied the people. If the senate alone had a right, by their constitution, to resign to any delegation the sovereignty, for six months, their right, which had not been recognized, and therefore not limited or defined by their institution, might have given a longer duration to the dictatorship. And if a complete divestiture of the government took place for one hour, it might for ever.

The separate interests of nobles and of people, which were irrevocably fixed by the institution of military tribunes, formed one of the most accountable causes that can now be assigned, for the frequent revolutions in the Roman republic.

From these evidences, drawn from the Roman history, we may conclude, that the government, immediately after Tarquin's expulsion, was a tyrannical aristocracy. It was frequently in a state of total dissolution, and held together by nothing but that vital spark of common danger, which obliged opposite and hostile factions, for a moment to unite for purposes of common safety.

But what was the state of America at the period of the revolution? Without patricians, patronage, or personal attachments—a society con-

ducted by one and the same principle—a common danger and a common benefit—an universal struggle for an universal right—the appeal of an entire nation of free citizens, from the lawless abuses of delegated power, to the rights of nature—not an exchange of the tyranny of the one, for the oppression of the many—no temporary resignation of the common sovereignty into the hands of one or more—but equal vigilance—equal sovereignty—one united struggle of all, for the freedom and independence of all. Can such a picture of liberty, and display of rational exertion, be drawn into analogy with a revolution, at a period when neither liberty nor reason were under flood?

The abbe appears to have possessed a knowledge of human nature too great for detail; and in the following doubt, for such it is, seems to have been considerably confused in his ideas of America, in her colonial relations and situation. "Have ye," says he, "taken care, in the formation of your new laws, to render them properly commensurate with the understanding of the multitude?" Even antecedently to the revolution, there was neither complaint, nor cause for complaint, of legislative commensuration. The colonies had adopted as much of the British laws as applied to their peculiar situation. The acts of their own legislature arose from the very bed of public occasion; were general in their operation, popular because useful, and repealed, if found useless, or inconvenient. They were made by the people in their represented capacity. Hence arose a conformity to public opinions, and the understandings of the people, with which they were consequently as commensurate as was possible, among a variety of genius, the colours of which were as infinitely shaded between the extremes of ignorance, and of science, as the



fortunes of individuals were low or splendid.

To the above observations it may not be impertinent to touch on a doubt of the abbe, as to the public opinion at the time of the commencement of the revolution.

The transition from the situation in which America stood before the revolution, and that wherein success placed her, was neither rapid nor abrupt. The minds of men were not unprepared for its reception. Discoveries of ambition and usurpation had already alarmed her suspicions, and carried her enquiries, into the very source of her rights. Besides these investigations, the forms of government continually presented a system of constitutional liberty, that enabled the mind to ascend with ease to first principles. The political state in which she existed, was that of freedom. It was a government of laws enacted by the people governed. The encroachment which threatened this inestimable state, was that from which she revolted; and independence was the dernier resort that held forth the instrument by which it might be impregnably secured.

The change in the exercise of the sovereignty was not, in America, one of those events which strike the public eye in the subversion of laws; which have usually attended the revolutions of governments. No revolution took place among factions, for none existed. No order of men or corporate bodies were dissolved, or left to canker, where they could not openly assert. The clergy, in some states, were left unprovided: but this order of men were placed on that liberal level, which, by excluding hierarchal ambition, promises harmony to religious opinions, and christian humility of life. The change was not from a state of slavery to that of licentious liberty. No violence was done to those institutions which education had sanctified. No prepossession

was dissolved, that had not been maintained conditionally. The private friendships of those who stood the issue of the day, received, it is true, a partial suspension, in this, as in European wars. Individuals of different nations may feel, in their private friendships, the pleasures of universal denizenhip: but nations, in their aggregate capacity, can never be sensible of the glow of mutual friendship. Their affections are represented but in the forms of treaties.

It will not appear temerity to assert, that had the learned remarker been acquainted with these truths, he would not have been led to doubt the concordance of public opinions with the revolution.

"I cannot," says he, "too often repeat, that in proportion as the manners relax, the laws, together with the power of carrying them into execution, should operate with stricter force, and the affairs of government be intrusted to fewer hands." This remark, though full of sophistry, is dangerous, because it flatters that predisposition to aristocratical usurpation attendant on ambitious minds. It goes to this hacknied assertion—that what is usually understood by the term virtue, as fancifully displayed by Montesquieu, is the root of democracy—that relaxation of manners wounds this root; and that in the progress of luxury, the advances of aristocracy are evidenced—nay, it invites them.

To one tolerably acquainted with the history of society, in its less polished periods, it must be somewhat distressing to view the force which the opinion has obtained, that honesty and barbarism are concomitants. By a veneration equally unjust and unaccountable, men look back on the days of antiquity, as the eras of those virtues that have been fondly, but unjustly, lavished under the poetical imagery of a golden age.

Fortunately for the cause of truth



and freedom the science of ethics proves the cultivation of the mind to have preceded the refinement of the passions.

If the intemperate and contracted virtues of a barbarous age are expanded by the progress of civilization into address of dissimulation, into feebleness of mind and effeminacy of manners—are they not more than compensated in the dominion of sentiment, in the lustre of the understanding, and in the multiplication of social relations? If little security hath been found to result from the boasted virtues of those ages, to any forms of government, shall we be so blinded by prejudice, as to despair of permanent establishments, whose foundations are not indebted to accident for their creation, nor to chance for improvement, but the basis of which was laid by the perfection of human reason? They have already sufficiently endured, to destroy the fallacious predictions of system-mongers; and their continuance can fail but in the extinction of that rational spirit which animates their democratic forms.

## II.

### *Virtue.*

**SPECULATIVE** men have thought, that there is a peculiar disposition of the public mind essential to the animation of the democratic form. The learned and philosophical Montesquieu hath imagined this principle, and called it virtue. The supposed incompatibility of this principle with a state of luxurious society, has been triumphantly urged against the American governments, which are in a state of refinement and opulence. Arguments, derived from the falsely imagined character of antiquity, are brought against the existence of the principle of virtue in an age of relaxation. The progress of the character of the species, undefended by happy government, is formed into an

argument against the display of its powers; for the declension of empire, and of free states, has been drawn in a parallel with the extinction of that simplicity which accompanies the ruder age, and which vanishes as the dawn of luxury arises.

In order to demonstrate the fallacy of an opinion, too blindly acquiesced in, it will, on this part of my subject, be necessary to descend somewhat into the minuteness of detail.

If virtue be incompatible with luxury and refinement, nature and the human character are at variance with philosophy. If it be exclusively the principle of the democratic forms, they must be the greatest of all political and civil *desiderata*. Human nature hath been supposed either incapable of attaining this principle or that it is forced to relinquish it, in a certain point of that progression, to which its character naturally accelerates. If this principle is the substitute of perfection in the form, and of a just and self-operating vigour of the laws and all the parts of the government, then this principle is either possessed by all, or it is useless; at least not more necessary to a form, thus properly animated, than it is to other forms.

The truth is, Montesquieu had never studied a free democracy. The governments, from which he borrowed the lights of freedom, were such as from their forms might be called democratic republics, as the people had a voice, but such as were subject to all the inaccuracies of undefined constitutions, which were constructed in days of ignorance, and matured, as far as their first impressions would permit, by the improvements of experience. But in no part of the Grecian or Roman world can a government be defined, that acted on this chimerical principle. There are many illustrious, but singular instances, in which men preferred the good

of their country to self-interest ; but in all governments, that were ever created, the various operations of the whole society, from causes that exist in its first principles, must have proceeded on the working of the heart, and the various motives of action.

Particular situations certainly affect, and in some measure shape, the human character ; but in no situation can it be altered. It must be studied ; and when its principles of action and motions are discovered to be eternally the same—when its rights, and the great objects of its happiness, are, by the maturity of its faculties, fully illustrated, government should then be framed so as to give its unerring principles fair play, and guard only against injustice. If it be formed on the great fundamental principles of nature and truth, the principles, on which it is founded will always maintain the structure, as they are immutable. The first principles will always give effect, as in fact they in themselves form the government ; and as it is but their emanation, they will for ever give it the vital heat and power of efficient action.

Virtue, in Montesquieu's acceptation, is the principle or "sensation" that substitutes the want of good laws, gives energy to those which exist, and, in fine, remedies all those defects which he hath imputed to democracies. But where no such defects exist, as those against which this principle is to operate, it will follow, that it is not peculiarly requisite to democratical forms, constituted by a rational principle.

Human nature, in the glorious exercise of its own powers, under governments chosen as the object of great deliberation, and under a perfect conception of its inestimable rights and faculties, and choosing one, founded in the moral necessity of its character, will take care of itself. It requires not the aid of an hot-bed ; its subsistence springs from the prin-

and natural developement of its genius, and to be happy, it demands nothing but the enjoyment of itself.

As well might it be said, that honesty is a peculiarly essential principle of any one form of government, and that morality is incident to particular climates, as that virtue is the peculiar principle on which the structure of democracy rests. As none of the ancient governments were framed on the fundamental rights of society, but, like modern forms, were patched, or dilated, as chance and expedience directed, it is impossible to say they were models ; or that, even admitting this visionary principle, governments framed on different views of society should require the same principle for their organization.

Much is certainly due to the memory of these departed forms. They were animated by bold spirits, that deserved better fates. They tended to generate the love of freedom ; but they have contributed little towards the discovery of, or reasoning on, the elements of civil and political liberty, or the enlargement of the science of modern politics. Removed to a venerable period of antiquity, the moderns view their structures as heights to which what is called modern degeneracy dare not aspire, but which will be found, as truth and nature unfold to the eye of reason, to be the phantasmas of scientific superstition, and misplaced admiration.

When we consider the fate of the ancient democracies and republics, we are but too apt to flatter the ambition of tyrants, by debasing the character rather than appreciating the unhappy fortunes of human nature. These scenes in which she hath been viewed, have ever been such as were opposed to her genius, hostile to the display of her character, and may therefore be called unnatural. It may be fair to call that the natural state, in which, by the natural agency of his functions, unclogged

by civil impediments, man becomes surrounded by the beneficial productions of his own genius. In his progress from rudeness to refinement, the noblest truths are unfolded by the improvement of his reason; his rights are ascertained; and the virtues of his heart become meliorated and multiplied. Thus the scheme of nature will be accomplished by the operation of her own powers: and her design will be finished by the full display of those endowments, with which the favourite of creation is adorned.

In that state of society, where the passions are pointed at the moral relations of the individual, and where the talents are exercised in that field of industry and emulation, whose fruits are under the protection of good laws, the wise predisposition of nature will be found most completely effectuated.

Nothing can be more bewildering than the idea of Montesquieu, that there are three distinct principles of conduct peculiar to the three forms of government. The enthusiasm which animated the ancient forms, has led to the idea of superior virtue. In this age, less is to be attributed to passion than to reason.

To investigate the necessity of this principle, supposed peculiar to democracy, it may be premised, that government is a positive good, and not the selection of the least from a variety of evils. It is a state of action, and rule of civil conduct, under which men naturally and necessarily fall. That government must be best, which is framed on the views of nature, and which elicits the progress and accomplishment of the human character. If a government be in itself well formed and adapted, as the constitutions of America, to the rights of mankind—if the society, on whom it acts, be in such a state of rational conception of those things in which their rights and interests consist, as

makes the civil form naturally to arise from the order of their existing relations—and, if there be a fitness between national impressions and the civil form, and this form really be such as secures the happiness of society, it would not be hardness to assert, that a greater share of virtue is not necessary to a democratic, than to a monarchical form. The united states were such societies. The American democracies are such governments.

Government has, in most cases, done too much. Its regimen has been prescribed under the empirical idea, that every addition of restraint, was a departure from natural liberty.

The office of government is to protect. The majorities of all societies act as if they were not governed. There is in the human heart, a principle of rectitude, that acts independently of civil regulation. The same sympathies, which knit the first bands of society, and formed man a social being, attend his moral character, through all its progressive stages, and as they existed without compact, or choice, so they continue to operate without the intervention of a municipal monitor.

The great misfortune of the species has risen from the political maladies under which it hath generally laboured: and notwithstanding individual happiness may have been its lot in a degree, yet this hath rather been owing to the contentment that resulted from an ignorance of what was better than from the enjoyment of those rights which might have enabled it to pursue what was best.

Where, but in America, existed a government under which the character of the species, as well as of the individual, advanced in its progress, in the possession of civil, political, and religious freedom? Had human nature never existed in such a situation, Montesquieu would not have imagined that virtue—the enthusiasm

of a simple age, uncultivated and rude, was essential to that very form, which of all others is best adapted to the plenitude of human felicity.

If such a principle did ever exist, it ought to be defined. If the fervour of the heart, inspired by particular situations, and displayed for public good, be worthy the name of principle, and each principle be said to be so essential to a democracy, as to be a *sine qua non* of that government—and if it be of so delicate a nature, as to suffer extinction by the prevalence of those luxurious habits to which all rational improvements lead—it certainly is a principle of too whimsical a nature to be relied on.

Admitting that this offspring of a happy instinct, moved the springs of governments, the only relics of which have been preserved by historians long buried in the dust of those very forms which they have immortalized—and that there have been certain great characteristics of human nature, buried in the same oblivion which hath deprived us of the murex dye, at once essential to its happiest state, and too precarious for cultivation, and which no force of mind or of fortune could ever regain—still there remain to modern days, resources of political happiness superior to this principle—as much superior to it, as pure religion, fixed on the immutable basis of morals, is to vague superstitions—as much as clear, conclusive deductions of the judgment, are superior to the violent and irregular movements of the heart;—or a clear sense of civil freedom to an attachment to ill understood privileges.

It could have been, at most, a certain union of reason and passion, which all might possess under similar circumstances. It must have resulted from a combination of motives to which all human beings might be subject. To what virtues in particular was it allied? Or did it act independently of that train of the affecti-

ons which the several social relations, when known, naturally inspire? It was a rule of political conduct. Political rules result from those relative duties which compose morals. Under what moral law, in particular, was this principle regulated? Some obligation must have been its measure of action. What state of society was most favourable to it? The state of society is nothing more than that aspect which the operations of certain powers of the understanding and passions, give through the medium of human conduct. If we fix the stage of society to which it is best adapted, we might better analyze it. It cannot be analyzed by any of that metaphysical deduction, by which we ascertain the nature and operation of other known powers of intellect, or of temper. It is imagined to have been visible, like the spirit of prophecy, in certain ages, and to have accompanied certain human institutions, in those eras of their simplicity, when enthusiasm had not found a happy substitution in the energy of true freedom, and in a just sense of civil liberty.

But this fervour ceased in those countries most celebrated for it, when that luxury advanced to which its extinction is attributed. "*Nuper divitiarum avaritia et abundantis voluptatis desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi, perdendique omnia invadere,*" says Livy. It was natural that luxury, which softens the manners, should dissipate a principle, if enthusiasm deserves the name of principle, which was the offspring of a rugged impracticability of character, and not the result of those reflexions that fix the affections in the footsteps of reason;—I mean a thorough comprehension of the rights of society, not understood two hundred years since.

Supposing such a principle to have existed, and to have been destroyed by relaxation of manners, when it



was destroyed, no substitute was left to the bosom of society, that could support its rights. A sense of civil liberty was no where to be found. The forms of government, and the faculties of society, which had been previously cultivated, had left such impressions as forbid the emancipation of the social character, and invited the strides of a more desperate ambition.

On the force of this principle, Montesquieu has made much use of Sparta. In speaking his lessons of political despair, and his romance of principles to the world, this philosopher says, that "They who would attempt the like institutions, must establish the community of goods, as prescribed in Plato's republic; that separation from strangers, for the preservation of morals; and an extensive commerce carried on by the state, and not by private citizens. They must give our arts, without our luxuries, and our wants, without our desires." I defy any man to comprehend that last injunction. "Money"—he goes on—"must be proscribed; it swells people's fortunes beyond the bounds prescribed by nature." What is it that this great man could not say, when he ventures to talk thus? Is it that he takes nature to mean a state of rudeness; or does he affix to human powers, certain bounds beyond which it is unnatural for them to pass? Did he recollect, that Sparta formed her citizens for the hardships of a military life; and that the human character was not destined for war only?

The force of contagion might assist in supporting a martial spirit, which disdained all things but its own peculiar honours, and those of public glory and victory. Under this influence, the mind would acquire a certain character, in sympathy with the public, and with the predominant passion. Where the ex-

amples of hardihood were hourly presented, and the more refined gratifications, as in Sparta, were discouraged and forbidden—it might not be a very difficult task, in a single city, to retard the more natural movement of the passions, and embarrass the progress of the citizen in his social pursuits.

The love of poverty, established as the foundation of the sublime of Spartan government, could operate but in very small societies of men. Such institutions are founded in those paroxysms of human character, which a peculiar destiny must have inspired. The crisis of their attainment, must have been the moment, of their declension; since there would certainly be wanting in the breast, the source and appeal of all laws, some motive and principle equal to such singular conduct. Where the possibility of excess is precluded, the virtues must lie contracted. The mind is not formed for repose. Like mercury, to be fixed, its principles must be destroyed. It could no more exist under the counteraction of such rigid principles, like those of Sparta, than it could fix its powers of thinking, or alter the whole intellectual economy. It must burst from such confinement, and it would seek either the gratifications of its predominant passion, in the barbarism of arms, or pursue its progressive attainments, in the pleasures of the sciences.

The character of the species is progressive. Whatever tends to make it stationary, is contrary to the laws of its nature. That inequality of fortunes should result from opulence, is perfectly natural: nor can it be wished, but by a visionary mind, that any civil or political institution should be devised, were it possible, that would equalize the conditions of men, and force them into that level which hath chimerically been deemed the surest foundation of democracy. To do this, the mental economy of



nature must be changed: and it would be necessary to root from the heart, the comparative inequalities of the passions; and from the brain, the inequalities of genius which give one man a superiority over another. No such institutions can, nor ought to be attempted, to be framed. In all things, nature, and the road she designates, are to be followed.

That governments, framed on rigid ideas of equality, like that of Sparta, have failed, is because they were formed in opposition to nature; and rather attempted to force the human character into distorted shapes, than to give it that easy play and exercise, in which alone its developement and vigour will be found to consist. The study of the human genius will teach us, that man is not destined by nature for the exclusive agency of any one faculty or passion. Various in the exertions of his talents and his passions, as his situations are diversified, we see he can assume, with equal ease, the duties and capacities of the father, or the son, of the artist, the merchant, or the legislator.

Were the character of the species, like that of the horse, stationary and limited both in the desires by which it is actuated, the talents by which it is adorned in its progression, and the attainments beyond which no auspices of situation could invite it—then those laws, which attempt to fix its exertions, in weakening the springs of its industry and activity, might be more reasonable. The laws of Lycurgus would not then appear the iron bed of Procrustes: and the institution of the humble dunkers\* would strike us as less visionary. But when experience in the attributes of human nature, teaches us,

## NOTE.

\* A small society of christians in the state of Pennsylvania, abstracted from the world, among whom a community of goods is established.

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that, by the natural movement of his passions, and from the necessary exercise of his faculties, man assumes new aspects, and gives that society which he forms, new views accommodated to his degree of cultivation, we must infer, from this operation of the immutable laws of his nature, that his advancement is a part of his destiny, and that he is to be protected in the possession of those rights which he gains under the moral necessity of his character. If luxury, in a correspondent stage of his improvement, be as natural to him as that rudeness or simplicity, supposed concomitant with virtue, from which he emerges—his deportment, as a civil being, may be as much under the guidance of his reason in this, as it was in a less advanced state. His principle of character will be the same. He cannot alter his nature; he can only cultivate it. A government that enables him to do this, is the best: consequently, that, which deprives him of the power of improvement and happiness, is unjust. He has no right to give up, in his politic capacity, those powers, without which he is crippled and retarded in the pursuits, in which nature hath inseparably blended his happiness. The same law of nature that protects what he acquires, by his industry, in the state of rudeness, is the principle of those laws that secure to him, in the state of luxurious society, those inequalities of property, that superfluity of wealth, which he gains by the honest exercise of the same talents, and under the impulse of the same principles, embellished by cultivation, and invigorated by the improved habits of his nature.

Unaccountably there are men, who are impressed with the idea, that the softness of modern manners, and the politeness of the best and firmest principles, displayed in modern conduct, are averse to that hardy tem-

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per necessary to the preservation of democratic freedom.

The idea is but too prevalent, that as luxury hath extended, liberty hath receded; and that as men add to the aggregate of political and civil restraints, the rights of human nature are abridged. The idea is founded on a misconception of the true principles of society.

Were we to attempt to fix the commencement of national corruption at a particular stage of individual refinement, we must first prove the national character throughout to be the exact correspondent to the individual: but as this cannot be done, inasmuch as a nation is always unequally refined, and will, from the happy diversity of fortunes, ever so remain, it is in vain that we deduce a general effect from causes that can never be general. Much juster would be the reasoning, which, disdaining the definition of situations that forever evade settled acceptations, should go to prove the insufficiency of those barriers which stand on the eternal foundations of nature; which are continually reverted to in the formation and continuation of happily-accommodated constitutions.

If, after such a disquisition, it be proved, that luxury and true liberty are incompatible in a democratic form, the supporters of (what till then I should call) so romantic a fiction, might justly triumph. The truth is, liberty and the completest complication of laws, and the fullest dispersion of luxury through every vein of the body politic, are in all degrees and respects compatible with each other.

There was, in America, when she effected her independence, all that luxury which is diversified by disparity of fortune, and every elegance of a dubious refinement. If virtue be peculiar to simplicity, she had relinquished it, in that opulence of

her citizens, which has been chimerically held up as the spot where national vigour begins to mortify. But it was in that stage of her moral character, on which refining speculists have affixed the languor of corruption, that she boldly dared on scenes of danger and heroic achievement, that would do honour to the most martial age. Nor was the point, on which her revolution commenced, that sort of immediate evil, which, by torturing the heart, prevents the reasoning of the understanding. No, Virginia was immolated at the shrine of chastity, to guard the sex's honour from the brutality of a tyrant. The progress of usurpation was slow, and gave to principle all its glory. It was not of that pressing nature, that, denying men the privilege of acting from conviction, drives them to that sad alternative, in which nature, at the head of the passions, performs the duties of necessity by her own instincts.

In other revolutions, the sword has been drawn by the arm of offended Freedom, under an oppression that threatened the vital powers of society. But the American revolution took place as a necessary result of long-established opinions. The occasion advanced with the progress of usurpation—not sudden, nor blown into existence by the breath of incendiaries. Flowing from the source of system, and supported by the energies of well-weighed choice, it was moderate, resolute, and irresistible. Hence is to be proved the force of that sense of civil liberty, which requires not the temper of enthusiasm. It is this union of refinement with the active state of civil liberty, that will distract the false theories to which unhappy fortunes have subjected the human character. It is this fact that will justify the ways of heaven, by proving the consistency of the social

nature with the political happiness of men. And from the study of the American democracies, sophistry will be disarmed of the argument against pure liberty, in the natural endowments of man, which a state of luxury displays.

Montesquieu, great as he was, and venerable as he will ever be, was too fond of hypothesis. He thought with solidity, and expressed himself by figures, that "lead, to bewilder, " and dazzle, to blind." He was too mechanical, too geometrical. His ideas and inductions of influence from soil and climate, show that ingenuity of a great mind, which fritters away its powers in conceit. Whimsically, he would reduce the political happiness of mankind to a dependence on the planetary system, and make a cabbage or a caulidower the source of his analogy.

### III.

#### *Aristocracy.*

**A**MONG the chimeras of the timid, is the spectre of aristocracy. Auguring from the past, some have vainly imagined, that the democracies of America must resolve into aristocracies. It is an objection of some consequence: and the history of democratic governments shelters the apprehension. But the philosophy of human society rejects it with confidence. Since, however, there is but too apt to be a secret sort of magic in fear, that effects the completion of its own prophecies, it as an objection remains to be opposed: and it will, therefore, be necessary to show some few grounds of aristocratic ascendancy in other countries, and then prove that such grounds exist not in the united states.

To adhere to verbal derivation is too narrow a mode of reasoning, to obtain in a liberal political discussion. Aristocracy is the government of a state by certain families, invested with hereditary rights of govern-

ing. No right of governing, by the representation of constituents of equal rights, can be called an aristocratic right. Aristocracy proves an inequality of rights. Delegated power does not prove, as in the American democracies, an inequality of rights: for where the people appoint their own rulers, the rulers, though possessed of greater temporary delegated powers, possess no more rights exclusively, than those by whom they were chosen: since the very delegation shows an equality between the candidate and constituent: it shows choice, which implies a right of rejection. However varied the modifications of the powers of government may be, and however distant they may appear to be from the mass of the people, while the democratic constitution brings back the powers of government, at stated periods, to its source of sovereignty, the people, no aristocracy exists. But, agreeably to the constitutions of the united states, the rights of election are frequently exercised. Every organ of state sprouts anew from the political body of sovereignty. Hereditary honours, hereditary rights of ruling, are excluded expressly. Jealousy hath left nothing for implication to fashion. No real feature of aristocracy, therefore, is visible either in the constitutions or in the governments of the united states.

Foreigners have erroneously blended the idea of aristocracy with that division of the legislative branches of some of the American democracies, which is seen in the senates. The senate, for instance, in the constitution of the state of Maryland, is chosen for five years, not immediately by the people, but by electors of senators. But observe, that the senate is derived mediately from the people. It represents no particular order of men, or of ranks. It is a weight in the powers of legislative deliberation and argument, but not of pro-

perty, of privileges, of orders, of honours, or at all descriptive of that solecism, which presupposes a division of interests in a state, of rights and of honours. It, in fine, hath nothing in its original idea, in its relative action, or in its object, correspondent or analogous to the house of lords in England. In this American senate, prevails a democratic simplicity. No reverence peculiar to themselves is paid them. The name, which is aristocratical, may, indeed, confound a parallel-hunter; but the robes of Cyrus, with the magical power by which his virtues were imparted to the wearer, have long since perished. Men who are carried away by verbal explanations, discover in this branch an aristocratic shadow, the substance of which they in vain search for, in that mass of citizens from whom it is reflected. Among them an unequivocal and perfect equality of rights exists, in the midst of fortunes and gradations, infinitely diversified by all the inequalities of temper, possessions, talents, and talles, that mark a refined society\*.

There is not, in a refined society, that invitation to aristocratic ambition, which marks the ruder age. The rights of mankind are better known, and the nerve of connexion more sensible. Passion has less and

## NOTE.

\* It is due to the respectable opinion of the author of the learned and able *defence of the constitutions of the governments of the united states*, to observe, that whatever may be unfolded by the contemplation of the past, or expected from the womb of future ages to countenance the anxious conjectures of his patriotic mind, the addition of a negative to each of the branches, appears to be a measure of precaution at once sanctioned by experience, and supported by a wise and elaborate investigation of historical facts.

laws and moral habits more to do.

That aristocracy does not unfold with the luxuries attendant on wealth, is evinced in the present state of Europe. It springs from those accidental arrangements of the ranks of the society, which military discipline renders necessary. It rises in the rudeness of society, and sinks with its refinement. The protection of men is not sought but in the weakness of laws. In proportion as the mass of society, by the acquisition of wealth and knowledge, place themselves in a state of domestic independence, the influence of aristocracy is observed to decrease. In those instances, where the aristocratical hath prevailed over the democratical part of the government, as in the Roman republic, the ascendancy hath been owing to the original constitution; or, as in the Venetian, obtruded on it by the hand of a temporary expedience.

Freedom seems anciently, as indeed in modern days of feudal slavery, to have meant the undisturbed enjoyment of certain peculiar privileges, inherent in the different orders of which society was composed, rather than that power of doing what good laws permit, framed by consent, agreeably to the known rights of mankind, and on the basis of equality.

The English constitution hath been infinitely improved, in proportion as that aristocracy declined, which added a number of small tyrants to one of a larger growth. The history of feuds, and of the barons, will prove this. The causes, that contributed to this declension, were the circulation of wealth, and the necessary introduction of luxury and refinement. These will always create a fluctuation of opulence favourable to democracies, and fatal to perpetuity of power. The causes, which made liberty emerge in England, after the



decline of aristocratical and feudal oppressions, have more or less ever prevailed in America; and are more operative there, as the fortunes of individuals are more equal and the road to ambition not opened by an invidious establishment of different orders of citizens. The emulation of equal citizens can never lead to such distinctions, nor can any ascendancy be known but that of superior merit. The influence, which this may attain, will endure no longer than the life of the possessor; for where that truest nobility is not a legal inheritance, it is not liable to assume any form, or possess any power that can militate against the utility of its temporary existence. There cannot be, in the eyes of any critical observer, this danger in the American democracies, for in them the education of the public mind will prove an impregnable barrier against aristocracy. On every subject, connected with the political character of the country, the ideas of men flowed from those sources of nature, the study of whose rights was considerably facilitated by the contemplation of those scenes of native simplicity by which they were surrounded.

It is a fact, in the history of governments, that those institutions, which have invited or confirmed the progress of aristocracy, have always been formed by the ambitious in a rude and martial state of society, in which men were ignorant of their rights, and unacquainted with the designations of nature. These institutions, framed under the immediate views that engage the passions of the ruder tribe, were instruments adopted under the impressions of danger, rather than schemes of civility made the objects of rational choice. They were conceded rather by the improvidence of ignorance, than established on those enlarged views of utility and happiness, for which nature prepared the social

constitution. Such have been the commencement and formation of even governments themselves. One age differed from another in its objects: still government acted but as the agent, and varied in the shape of its instrumentality, with the ruling passions of the day.

Perhaps, indeed, a government created under a just conception of human rights, would not be relished by a rude society. The rights and characteristics, which develop with cultivation, are possibly to be enjoyed in that state only of social maturity, from which a sense of them springs. These have been generally excluded by the immutability of those unhappy forms that were accommodated to different views, and which have survived the causes of their creation.

In America, society received its impressions favourably to a democratic form, and excluded all tendency to any other. Already had it passed that crisis of its progress, which hitherto hath opened a door in most other forms, to the advances of aristocracy. The colonial situation forbade any inordinate ambition in American provincials. The humility of her society, abstracted from the splendor and amusements of the old world, held forth few allurements to invite the residence of such, from the mother country, as might possibly have aspired to the investments of hereditary honours. Protected from the hostilities of ambition, her citizens gained a complete conception of what either the policy, or misfortunes of European governments have hidden from the eyes of their subjects. Those who will reflect on the causes that have encouraged the growth of aristocracy in other countries, and led them on to the total subversion of freedom, and, finally, to the throne of absolute monarchy, will perceive that this mischievous form cannot be obtruded on the American govern-

ments. There, no oppressions exist, none of those occasions which military governments afford in days of rudeness, in which transcendent merit acquires permanence of authority: and where there is no impatience under evils that would receive relief from change, there will exist no probable cause of those revolutions, in which ambition hath forged chains for mankind.

The revolution made no alteration in, but rather secured, those fundamental equalities, the destruction of which hath ever been the basis of aristocracy and oligarchy. In European governments, there seems to have been a greater tendency to monarchy than to aristocracy. The *etats* of France gradually merged into a mild, but pure monarchy. The *cortez* of Spain have sunk even into oblivion. In Sweden, the pretensions of an aristocratical senate have been over-ruled by the prevailing spirit of monarchy. The nobility of England, restless, turbulent, and ambitious, have yielded a great portion of that importance which rendered them in a great degree independent of king and people; and are now distinguished by an influence, proportioned more to utility and talents, than to splendor of birth. The division of society, formed by a separation of professions, the individual independence arising from this, and the general dispersion of wealth that destroys the permanent inequalities of fortune, directly tend to the dissolution of that aristocratic importance, which, however interwoven with public institutions and national character, hath ever given way to the equalizing force of civilization.

Aristocracy is a government, in which there are orders of men possessed of unequal rights, formed on the accidental aspects of human affairs, in ages of barbarism, and under an ignorance of true civil liber-

ty. But there is, in America, a perfect equality of rights, an enlightened adoption of a free form of government, and the greatest improbability of that declension of the social character, which retrogrades it to a state of original rudeness, and martial despotism. Therefore there neither is in the united states an aristocracy, nor does there exist that ground for its ascendancy, which hath usually been its foundation in other countries.

#### IV.

##### *Extent of territory.*

TO vindicate the American democracies from all objection, the theory of Montesquieu, wherein a small territory is made an essential property of their forms, is to be combated. Montesquieu hath said, and theoretical men have followed him, that it is natural for a democratic republic to have only a small territory. What he would convey by the term natural is mysterious, and will never be explained into meaning. Without entering into etymological detail, a concise definition of the government, termed democracy, will considerably facilitate our comprehension of the subject.

Democracy is a government wherein all the members of the society are possessed of equal rights, and govern either by themselves, or by their representatives, elected by themselves, and invested with just powers of government.

If in such a government there be an efficiency, a celerity, and an accommodation of the laws, the extent of territory cannot form an objection. And as every objection, to what should exist without any, ought to be removed, the above shall be opposed by a mode of reasoning founded in experience, and dictated without theory.

The principal objection to extensive territory, is the difficulty of af-

sembling and consulting among the citizens. But since the regular division of the states into counties, each possessed of a supreme board or court, and these again divided into parishes—since voices, and not wealth, prevail in elections, the rights of which are guarded by good laws—and since these laws are exercised with as much exactness at a distance from the capital, in consequence of the superior regulations of the juridical system and of the police—where exists an inconvenience with a greater, that does not exist in a smaller extent of territory? for abuses cannot prevail without their remedies, since the constitution acknowledges no order of men superior or dangerous to the laws. These laws have been formed agreeably to right, and accommodated to useful purposes: and the juridical system hath been digested by the wisdom of past ages, and wrought into perfection both of theory and execution—an advantage, for which the American democracies are indebted to the absence of those influences which in all other democracies have either retarded the melioration of, or given a partial execution to, the operations of the laws.

The futility of every objection may be demonstrated by some attention to the different aspects which society and government assume in America from those which have given colour to this theoretical position.

It hath been common for a rude people to divide, at first perhaps to associate, in small tribes. One passion, the love of arms, pervades the infancy of all nations; because their want of cultivation deprives them of the arts of peace; and because corporeal strength and the violence of the passions, as yet unrefined and undirected by the sentiments of a pure morality, preceded those happy and ornamental endowments of a more advanced society.

That nations have been formed by

a convocation of military tribes, will account for many appearances in the political world. Kings and nobles have sprung from this origin. And all the laws, which secure their privileges and prerogatives, flow from this source. Of little consequence was it what was the declared form of their governments: men, and not laws, ruled, where the passions taught the injured to seek redress in an appeal to the sword. But those forms subsided, while the causes, from which they arose, gradually merged in the improvements of society. Thus ancient democracies were small, because they were founded on the principles of self-defence, and were martial tribes. But their forms of public administration, originally calculated for very narrow and partial spheres of action, still continued to direct schemes of higher moment, and support views that required a different scale of civil and political powers. Hence resulted a confusion and public weakness. The society, at first actuated by one spirit, and governed by laws as simple as they were few, was by no means formed for operations which demanded that complete organization which would bring into regular co-operation, all those wheels of action that consist in the various resources of a more scientific finance, and in an able and permanent administration of government.

These forms might be adapted to a small territory and infant associations; but this temporary feature of society, when met by a train of operations that ought to have been expected, but which was not foreseen, because the true political destination of human nature was unknown, became deformed by all the evils attendant on a vicious constitution.

In the case with which a small democracy might be defended, and the facility of assemblage, confined the measure of its territory. Its resources, and the genius of the people, like

those of a military tribe, calculated them for the operations of a single campaign. When their ambition led them to foreign conquests, the inefficiency of their systems disconcerted all their views; and either brought disgrace on their arms, or opened a way for tyranny at home. They seem designed for single exertions, rather than for complicated movements. Where experience, as in the American democracies, hath given confidence in measures, and where revolutions have strengthened the springs on which such measures operate, it is idle to doubt their future efficiency. Before this efficiency can cease, the principles of justice and native energy, on which they rest, must expire.

## V.

*Balance of power.*

THE ambition of princes hath ever been fatal to mankind. In vain hath the voice of nature spoken a law to nations, and attempted to circumscribe the horrors of war, by the rights of justifiable prevention, or of equitable redress. The power of doing mischief with a glorious impunity, hath generally been the limit of destructive ambition; and it hath happened that men, ignorant of their rights, have lent themselves, with ruinous alacrity, to the invasion of the rights of others. The love of glory hath been the forge of chains by which the bold have shackled themselves; and the governments of Europe, placed towards each other, since their emerging from Gothic barbarism in a system of hostile jealousy, have, till very lately, been mere engines of martial ambition, in a state of war, equipped for enterprise, rather than the arts of peace, and excellent in their own eyes, in proportion to the unhappy facility with which they could execute and maintain the projects of their sovereigns. They originated unhappily;

and the light of improvement served, but to modify institutions, which it ought to have subverted.

From whatever cause it may have arisen, it should seem as if in all countries, except America, certain political causes have so far preceded the sense of political rights, that revolutions and new governments have but diversified the evils of civil subordination. Seldom in any revolution that hath happened in Europe, hath been reserved that reversion of power and right, on which alone just government can be erected. Wars have served indeed to display resources, and the virtues of gallant nations. They have sealed with the sacred blood of human nature, the claims of princes and of states. But what besides these points have they settled; and what can we call them, but the splendid miseries of nations!

If that enlightened policy, which regulates its maxims by an ardent love of human rights and universal freedom, be a theme of pleasure to the philosopher, and at the same time equally capable of advancing the purposes of a generous ambition, and of giving effect to the resources of the state, how injurious to the rights of nations must appear to him that system, which, in attempting a balance of power, seeks to oppress individual states under the respectable sanction of a pacification, at once erroneous and impracticable!

Among the causes, which contributed to retard the advances of the enlightened policy, the balance of Europe may be considered as one of the principal.

From the military genius of the sixteenth century this idea naturally arose. It had an alarming influence on the laws of nations. Its object was security. It implied a state of ambition; and engendered politics better suited to defence than repose, and inculcated, to the rulers of states, a science that consisted more in a



knowledge of the resources of others, than in what would add to, and improve, those over which they presided. It seems to have delighted more in destruction, than in the acquisitions of that profit, or revenue, which result from those commercial ideas that form the spirit of modern cabinets. It cherished that soul of ambition, which already was but too predominant among potentates, whose claims being founded in violence and injustice, were to be supported by force, and the address of an insidious policy. It rendered that policy a law of nations, which proceeded by the worst means to accomplish the worst ends. It taught nations, that in weakening the foremost, the object of true policy would be obtained; and that in cutting off the resources of a rival, they added wealth and power to themselves. While it affected to smother the breath of universal monarchy, it in fact organized the system of universal slavery. In its effects, though not in its original object, or cause, it was a combination of those who possessed the power of doing ill, against that mass of society, which, in a rude state, never possess their rights but to abuse them. It was a league of the strong against the weak, in its influence over civil and religious freedom. In its relation to the great cause of human nature, it was a confederacy of passion against reason, of prejudice against philosophy, and of error against truth. Considering the objects of European wars, the cause of civil liberty was never once involved—a few small states, as Holland, Switzerland, and during the civil wars, England, excepted. The rights of sovereigns stood on the ruins of nature. Sovereigns alone, their pride, and passions, seem to have been the only personages and machinery of the drama. The cause of human rights was rarely an interlude; and where it was, it was of a tragical nature. And treaties

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being the etiquette of princes, rather than the foundation of national advantage, were usually the most shameful bargains between disconcerted ambition and lawless force. In consequence of this jealous policy, which surveyed every accession of advantage to one nation, as a diminution of profit to another, the hostility, so natural to barbarians, was rather kept alive than extinguished. The principle of alienage that fixes man, as much in his prejudices against his species, as in his residence, was confirmed.

Nations have the right of judging on all those points of commerce and intercourse, which decide on their safety and happiness; but this is a discretion to be used under the guidance of the laws of nature; and the primary object of society being the happiness of mankind, no motives, which do not rest on a law of nature equally strong, ought to be suffered to operate against that system of useful commutation, which modern wisdom is actually diffusing.

In proportion as nations can be brought to stand towards each other, under relations similar to such as connect moral agents, the great objects of national felicity will be attained. Nothing tends more to this, than the habits of a liberal commerce. This the suspicion incident to so false a policy prevented, and opened the door of embassy, but to promote the office of a protected spy. It facilitated that communication between princes, which was perpetually a source of insidious councils, where vast plans of slavery, either of nations, or of religion, were agitated with secrecy.

The course which human affairs took, when the close of the Roman day involved all Europe in darkness, rendered this evil somewhat necessary; but, like the guards of Pissistratus, which his self-inflicted wounds had procured him, it tended, with other

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causes, to enslave, while it protested. It assailed in subverting the rights of mankind, by confirming the despotism of princes. In constituting a judicature of nations, where force and not right decided, it led to a surrender of that right which every nation hath, to the exercise of its own independent sovereignty. Kingdoms and states were bequeathed by the will of tyrants, for purposes of supporting the balance of power.

Wars, and a knowledge of their temporary resources, which were but other names for injustice and oppression, became the science of politicians. The rights of individual societies were neglected, for the ambitious enterprises of the sovereign : and reasons of state engaged those faculties and talents, which had more rationally been employed in the cultivation of commerce, and in the arts of legislation.

From this system of foreign politics, the nations of Europe became entangled in inextricable relations. Those relations were not of amity. Had they been such as were formed by a juster knowledge of the principles of government, and those sources that add to the happiness of mankind, Europe would have been infinitely more enlightened and better cultivated than at present. They were such as might be expected, (but are ever to be lamented), when we reflect on the religious oppositions which prevailed in different parts of Europe, and find the maxims of this fatal system but just yielding to the enlarged spirit of liberality—a liberality, which hath made the arts of industry a common cause—science the favoured object of rival kingdoms—banished the rack—and dispersed the daggers of fanaticism and persecution.

The prerogatives of crowned heads are indebted to this policy for their alarming growth. The spirit of secrecy, with which its maxims were

put into action, with which its enterprises were executed, hath given a plausible pretence for the usurpation of undefined powers : and it will be found, that the executive of every government hath invariably acquired a vigour proportioned to the apparent necessities that coloured the boldness of its demands. By giving the nation a great object of danger perpetually before their eyes, it hath gained an ascendancy over legislative policy, by which it hath shamefully been weakened : and embarrassed, by contradictory interells, the progress of laws, and the science of government, in the clamours of danger, and in the exigencies of preservation.

The train, into which early maxims of policy threw the passions of Europe, hath imprinted on their characters an inveteracy of feature, averse to alteration, and favourable more to habit than reflexion. Slowly will the truth advance, when unaccompanied by the passions. These have already taken their direction, and resist innovation, as if it were impiety.

Some great characteristics distinguish each nation in Europe. With few exceptions, however, bigotry, superstition, and despotism, mark their descriptions. Some are termed natural enemies. Others, from theological errors, are exalted into tyrants, or humbled into slaves. No where could an altar be raised to the truths of politics and philosophy. The sublime obscurities of established creeds would exclude it on the one side ; and, on the other, the prescriptions of civil mystery, would render it an useless or a dangerous shrine. Even in this enlightened age, an inquisition browbeats the inquisitive eye of philosophy : and there are climates from which the will of a feudal baron can exile into slavery the peasant, who tills his ungrateful field.

There was in Europe a contradiction of religious and civil principles, that created a thousand solecisms. The rule, to which the negotiations of nations were subject, was so flexible in its nature, as easily to yield to the sinister views of the artful and designing. Its dangerous casuistry lent an indulgence to the blackest causes; and, with jesuitical accommodation, twisted morality in the windings of ambition, and tortured every law of heaven into a rule of lustful power. Where an attachment to the liberties of mankind had not been made the principle of conduct between princes and their subjects, little else beyond this sort of policy could be expected in the intercourse of nations. Where an internal standard was wanting, no criterion could regulate external relation. The wide walling errors of religion held forth their mysterious jargon, in which duplicity might double, and fraud piously defend its treachery.

The governments of America are removed to a distance from such a policy, as much by their local situation, as by their political relation to other nations. They will study the interests of others, because the subject matter of their treaties must be understood. The American feels little interest in the empty declamation of memorials, which contain the claims of princes; or in those projects of preventive wisdom that are founded in a mutilation of the rights of the people. The cause of freedom will be his own: for to a citizen of America nothing seems so natural as freedom, nothing so mean as slavery. His mind, cultivated by history, and not cramped by mysteries, will eagerly lend its powers to the investigation of the most foreign subjects: and, bound by none of the prejudices, which the policy of established error hath elsewhere enforced, he will readily adopt or reject whatever may result

from an unbiassed attention to the laws and usages of other nations.

In America, the policy of the balance of Europe will not apply. Her views are different from its attractions. A consciousness of security will give her repose: and her situation, her citizens, and denizenship of the world, will protect this repose from interruption. She is the last asylum for opinion: and the harraided human character hath not another refuge from degrading policy. The world is sufficiently enlightened to know this. Like the martial states of Greece, which, says Polybius, protected the commercial city of Byzantium, as a common benefit, philosophers and statesmen would unite against a violation of the happiness of a people, whose lot is the more precious, as it was procured by the greatest experiment that human nature ever made of its own character.

In the united states, the principles of foreign policy will be regulated by the rights of nations: and where the rights of society are not found to be incompatible with the established forms, the rights of nations will not prove a dangerous revelation, and may arrange with a more enlightened and useful policy. Self-defence will not hold out the sophistry of ambition. No pretext will assume the form of a reason of state, to commit injustice or depredation under the guise of expediency. Not "to humble the haughty," but "to protect the oppressed," will be wise and amiable policy of states, which have already proved their sense of glory, and have no interest to create another object for their exertions.

New colours suit the scene of softening life:

No more, beslriding barbed steeds,  
Advent'rous valour idly bleeds:  
And now the bard in alter'd tones,  
A theme of worthier triumph owns

By social imagery beguil'd,  
 He moulds his harp to manners mild;  
 Nor longer weaves the wreath of war  
 alone,  
 Nor hails the hostile form that grac'd  
 the gothic throne\*.

When Frederic died, the ensanguin-  
 ed blade of glory shivered into atoms.  
 To the struggles of ambition and the  
 toils of war, succeeds the sway of  
 peaceful councils, and promises to the  
 emerging spirit of philosophical liber-  
 ty a reign of wisdom and tranquillity.  
*Per quas Latinum nomen et Italia  
 Crevere vires, famaue, et imperii  
 Porrecta majestas ad ortum  
 Solis ab hesperio cubili.*

## VI.

## Religion †.

**R**ELIGION, in America, pre-  
 sents a singular prospect. Its  
 progress hath kept pace with moral-  
 ity, and is not the less sublime because  
 its history hath not been marked by  
 those interesting scenes which have  
 rendered Europe the theatre of error  
 and bloodshed. It had ever been held  
 in the light of moral persuasion.  
 Force, restraint, and penalties, were  
 monsters not found within her mild  
 lights. The diversity and freedom of  
 the christian sects had poised every  
 schism and party on that point of  
 equality which precluded jealousy.  
 This was an attainment that philoso-  
 phy had only studied, and had scarce-  
 ly expected.

By the revolution, religious doc-

## NOTES.

\* Warton's ode.

† This tract upon religion, being  
 simply the result of rational investi-  
 gation, and dictated by the purest  
 principles of christianity, and of the  
*amor patriæ*, cannot be imputed to  
 any motives less worthy, than univer-  
 sal religious freedom; nor, in the eyes  
 of the philosophical examiner, in the  
 smallest degree, impeach the religious  
 faith, of the writer of it.

trines received no shock. Superstiti-  
 on and bigotry had nothing to la-  
 ment, and nothing to rouse at. These  
 monsters were left unchained, and  
 were therefore harmless. The clergy  
 in America did not constitute a po-  
 litical body. They were not, as in  
 England and Rome, one of the states  
 of the empire.

The relics of old superstition,  
 which serve as apologies for modern  
 errors and fanaticism, were there un-  
 known. There were no precedents of  
 forefathers, to mislead the imaginati-  
 on of posterity, and authorise them  
 in a blind acquiescence under ide-  
 al futilities. The novelty of all  
 things precluded the prescription of  
 error.

When christianity was transplant-  
 ed from Great Britain to the new  
 world, it assumed a novelty, both  
 consonant to its new religion, and cor-  
 respondent to its original simplicity.  
 It dropped those claims of controul,  
 which were yielded, by ignorance, to  
 the ambition of avaricious pontiffs and  
 proud ecclesiastics. Of all its supersti-  
 tious rites it was entirely strip'd; and  
 in this state of native simplicity, its  
 arrogant interposition in civil cases,  
 and legislative concerns, was as little  
 thought of, as necessary. The go-  
 vernment of the passions, and the  
 mind, was its object. True moral  
 persuasion, dignified by revelation,  
 was its great characteristic. It had all  
 the modesty and gracefulness of its  
 holy virgin. The institutions, which  
 supported its public rites, were not  
 endangered by that mixed cloud of  
 ignorance and superstition, which  
 hath every where else enveloped the  
 plainest truths with mystical exhibi-  
 tions. The luminous era of the hu-  
 man mind, that conceived such insti-  
 tutions, secured them from the cor-  
 ruptions to which similar designs had  
 been exposed.

That, under such enlightened ideas  
 of society, there should exist no alli-  
 ance between the formalities and te-



nets, of government and of religion, is not surprising. A change of situation had disembarrassed both from the trammels of opinion under which they had in Europe been most erroneously united and confused.

It was in this country, that the light of truth divided the duties which spring from relations to the divine and human natures, and separated the heterogeneous mixture of temporal and spiritual ideas. Perhaps through imitation, and the gradual operation of philosophical causes, the originalities and harmonious combinations of religion in the united states may infuse, in the mind of European nations, the true spirit of religious freedom. But even in the united states, some alterations of moment, on this point, are demanded by the spirit of their constitutions.

It is not a little surprising, that, when the ardor of reform is extending itself in America, from political revolutions to those of religion, it should act on so limited a scale, as to preclude all but christians, from the blessings of an equal religious freedom to which all men are equally entitled.—If not restrained by the novelty of power, nor blinded by the prejudices of Europe, how much honour and advantage would not her character acquire by the adoption of so enlightened a policy!

By the constitutions, all sects of christians are entitled to equal freedom. \* This is wise; and when compared with what we see in most countries of Europe, it is highly liberal. There yet remains one step; when this is gained, America will be the great philosophical theatre of the world. Christians are not the only people there. There are men be-

sides christians, who, while they discharge every social duty, are shut from the rights of citizenship. If this continues, it will have been in vain that the world hath offered the experience of her follies and her crimes and that human nature hath been so long devoted to its own errors. If there be a man in the empire excluded from the fullest rights of citizenship, merely on account of his religion, the law, which excludes him, is founded in force, and is A VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF NATURE.

It is in vain that artful men argue from policy to the necessity of religious discriminations—of tests—incapacities—and invidious disqualifications. Policy is a poison that hath acted on the political constitutions of states, to the destruction of their principles, and, finally, to the subversion of their liberty. It is often little more than the passion of the day sanctified by law and sophistry. But men are not now in that suspicious state of hostility which once may have lent some apology for injustice and particular exclusions.

*“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,*

*“His can’t be wrong, whose life is in the right.”*

That government was made for man, and not man made for government, is a truth that should stand foremost in all political ideas of religion.

In the adoption or creation of ecclesiastical institutions, general principles have, in other countries, either escaped observation, or have been intentionally obscured or rejected as too immutable for the purposes of a policy, which temporized with change, and made error subservient the gratifications of ambition. Hence systems have been expedients, modes of faith the politic indulgence of prevailing weaknesses, or the instruments of slavery,

## NOTE.

\* *The writer is here in error. Protestants, only, in some of the states, are eligible to offices of trust and emolument. C.*

America will never sacrifice to imitation the new duties she owes the human species, and for the discharge of which heaven hath offered her situations singularly happy. It is to nature she stands pledged for an impartial trial and a fair stage. She will not narrow the foundation of her happiness by mutilating religious freedom. Her schemes will be as liberal, as her fortunes have been glorious. Her situation is the first ever offered to mankind, wherein every right of nature, explored by the eye of science, may be indulged in a latitude unembarrassed by unsubstantial forms, and unhackled by civil or religious despotism. Opinion has not yet thrown obstacles in the path of investigation, nor obtruded on the minds of men a fashion of thinking, unconnected with the philosophy of things. Prejudice against particular sects is unknown. It is in this moment, when the principles of nature prevail, that America ought to spread wide the bottom of her future character; and nothing will contribute more powerfully to this end, than that union of all her citizens, and fusion of their common rights, which equal religious freedom will create.

Unless the governments assume to themselves an inquisitorial authority, they cannot view the citizen in any other point of responsibility to them, than that which is formed by his civil relation. Until they prove an authority, derived from the laws of nature, or delegated from heaven, they cannot claim a cognizance of religion. As well might they ordain laws of honour, of taste, of sentiment, and of ethics, as prescribe the emotions of a devout heart.

Government is a modification of the laws of nature. These are unacquainted with the distinctions of religious opinion, and of the terms Christian, Mahometan, Jew, or Gentile. The constitutions, if they pur-

sue a just direction, will not violate common sense; nor cherish, by force, those injuries done to nature, which the light of the present day is about to disperse. They will throw down every barrier erected by the despotism of impassioned ignorance, and admit every sect, whom they admit at all, to the rights of citizenship. The governments are obliged to legislate agreeably to the constitutions. The constitutions tolerate none but christian sects: yet the policy of the governments teaches them to invite all the world, while their disingenuous fears, by shutting out from the most inestimable rights, half the human species, counteract their views and real interells. So little and so gloomy a policy will be despised: and as the struggles of America have endeared her to the world, her principles, on all great points, will manifest a mind universally illumined. She will prove, by a freedom of universal religion, however varied in name or mode, that civil government is not supported by trick and mystery; and that civil happiness does not depend on undetected deceptions.

Religion hath not been so much interwoven, as inserted in her constitutions. It makes no part of her state policy; and if it can be proved to be a subject totally beyond the reach of human cognizance, there will be no danger in removing every section which gives her governments the power of legislation over its rights. If, after an alteration of this sort, governments still continue to consider themselves the guardians of religion, their guardianship will extend to an impartial protection of every sect on earth. If they exclude any sect, it must be because they possess the power delegated from such as had a right to part with such rights; or because they may have discovered a sect, or class of men, created out of the cognizance of the laws of nature.

But by these laws all men are equally bound. Government can be justified in its acts only in proportion as these are consistent with the laws and views of nature. It can legislate on those relations only which may be suspended and delegated by the whole to a part of society. If there exist in the human character any relation, the rights of which cannot be delegated, government cannot be possessed of a right to legislate on those rights—it cannot point out a rule of conduct in a series of duties, which result from a relation over which it hath no cognizance. Should it be a proved thing, that men give up, for civil purposes, a portion of the rights of nature, it will go to this only, that they yield that of which they have a right to divest themselves, for purposes of happiness; but will never found a power in government, over things which could not be yielded.

“It is the duty of every man to worship God in the manner which he may think most acceptable to him.” Religion is the worship of God. It is a duty arising from the relation of man to his Creator. Whether the religion professed be natural, or revealed, the evidence, which brings conviction, is submitted to the judgment of each professor. If faith be the bottom on which particular creeds stand, still less is religion under human controul. Rewards and punishments are the objects of all religions: to render these consistent with the divine attributes, and operative in this world, it is a necessary principle, that each individual be tried by his own merits. The evidence of every religion must

be received in a manner peculiar to the judgment of every agent, in a degree of conviction proportioned to its force, and to that peculiarity of temper, habit, and education, which hath so wonderfully varied the moral face of things.

Religion is a matter of opinion, and of sentiment. It is not a uniform conclusion drawn from a common sense of divine relation. If it were, there would be but one opinion on the subject: and government, could it gain a right, might have in it a more palpable instrument of policy, give less indulgence to its errors; and, by defining with accuracy the duties which arise from the relation of man to God, might, with less hazard, ingraft it on the general plan of policy and legislation. But this is not the case: as religion is the duty arising from the relation of man to God, and not from the relation of man to man, the mode of discharging this duty cannot be submitted to delegation. This mode forms a part of the duty; and is that secret communication with the divinity, which cannot be supported but by the mind which feels it. This duty is enjoined by the law of nature. The law of nature was anterior to civil regulations.

Whatever rights could not be the object of civil cognizance, still remain under the cognizance of the law of nature. It is clear, that whatever rights had a reference to the relation between man and man, might, for the good of the whole, be delegated by the whole to a part of society.

It is equally clear, that whatever rights were at once rights of the individual, and duties to his Creator, could not be delegated by the whole to a part. Such a delegation would have subverted that responsibility which supports the scheme of rewards and punishments. If the right of deciding on the duty to God

## NOTE.

\* Constitution of the state of Maryland. Here are *general* premises. In a subsequent sentence, is this *particular* conclusion, that “therefore all christians shall be entitled to worship God,” &c.

could be delegated, the constituent would discharge himself from his responsibility. No man, then, can divest himself of the means whereby he forms that conviction, in the exercise of his free agency, from whence he deduces those duties, in the undelimited discharge of which, he rests his hopes of salvation.

The rights, which result from social and human relations, may be delegated. The rights, which flow from the relation of man to his Creator, can no more be delegated, than the discharge of religious obligations can be made by substitutes.

Civil government can be but the concentration of many wills. Its powers must be correspondent to the rights associated. This combination includes nothing which was not delegated. No rights can be delegated, which the social being could not surrender in trust. But the rights resulting from the relation of man to his Creator, cannot be surrendered to man: and therefore the rights of religion are unalienable.

Government, which legislates with a view to rights with which it is invested by delegation, can have no cognizance over the rights of religion, which are unalienable. As long as religion is held by its professors to be a secret communication with heaven, and submitted to as the monitor of moral conduct, government can have no just power of prevention, or patronage on the subject. When it forsakes its peculiar relation, and mingles with the relations to which it bears no analogy—when it assumes powers derogatory to the rights resulting from other relations, government, as the guardian of its own peculiar rights, will interfere, and secure to all an equal enjoyment of both civil and religious freedom.

*An address to an assembly of the friends of American manufactures, convened for the purpose of establishing a society\* for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts, read in the university of Pennsylvania, on Thursday the 9th of August, 1787—by Tench Coxe, esq. and published at their request †.*

Gentlemen,

WHILE I obey with sincere pleasure the commands of the respectable assembly whom I have now the honour to address, I feel the most trying emotions of anxiety and apprehension in attempting to perform so difficult and serious a duty, as that prescribed to me at our last meeting. The importance and novelty of the subject—the injurious consequences of mistaken opinions on it—and your presence, necessarily excite feelings such as these. They are lessened, however, by the hope of some benefit to that part of my fellow citizens, who depend for comfort on our native manufactures, and by an ardent wish to promote every measure that will give to our newborn states the strength of manhood. Supported by these considerations, and relying on the kind indulgence which

#### NOTES.

\* For the constitution of this Society, see page 167.

† At a numerous meeting of the friends of American manufactures, on Thursday evening the 9th of August, 1787—the hon. Thomas Mifflin, esq. in the chair:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Tench Coxe, esquire, for his ingenious and excellent discourse, delivered before them, preparatory to the establishment of a society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts: and that he be requested to furnish the secretary with a copy for publication. Extract from the minutes. W. Barton, sec.



is ever shown to well-meant endeavours, however unsuccessful, I shall venture to proceed.

Providence has bestowed upon the united States of America means of happiness, as great and numerous as are enjoyed by any country in the world. A soil fruitful and diversified—a healthful climate—mighty rivers, and adjacent seas, abounding with fish, are the great advantages for which we are indebted to a beneficent Creator. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, naturally arising from these sources, afford to our industrious citizens certain subsistence and innumerable opportunities of acquiring wealth. To arrange our affairs in salutary and well-digested systems, by which the fruits of industry, in every line, may be most easily attained, and the possession of property and the blessings of liberty may be completely secured—these are the important objects, that should engross our present attention. The interests of commerce, and the establishment of a just and effective government, are already committed to the care of the AUGUST BODY\* now sitting in our capital. The importance of agriculture has long since recommended it to the patronage of numerous associations, and the attention of all the legislatures: but manufactures, at least in Pennsylvania, have had but a few unconnected friends, till sound policy and public spirit gave a late, but auspicious birth to this society.

The situation of America, before the revolution, was very unfavourable to the objects of this institution. The prohibition of most foreign raw materials—considerable bounties in England for carrying away the unwrought productions of this country to that, as well as on exporting British goods from their markets—the

preference for those goods, which habit carried much beyond what their excellence would justify—and many other circumstances—created artificial impediments that appeared almost insuperable. Several branches, however, were carried on to good advantage. But as long as we remained in our colonial situation, our progress was very slow: and indeed the necessity of attention to manufactures was not so urgent, as it has become since our assuming an independent station. The employment of those, whom the decline of navigation has deprived of their usual occupations—the consumption of the increasing produce of our lands and fisheries—and the certainty of supplies, in the time of war, are weighty reasons for establishing new manufactories now, which existed but in a small degree, or not at all, before the revolution.

While we readily admit, that, in taking measures to promote the objects of this society, nothing should be attempted, which may injure our agricultural interests, they being undoubtedly the most important; we must observe, in justice to ourselves, that very many of our citizens, who are expert at manufactures and the useful arts, are entirely unacquainted with rural affairs, or unequal to the expenses of a new settlement; and many, we may believe, will come among us, invited to our shores from foreign countries, by the blessings of liberty, civil and religious. We may venture to assert, too, that more profit to the individual, and riches to the nation, will be derived from some manufactures, which promote agriculture, than from any species of cultivation whatever. The truth of this remark, however, will be better determined, when the subject shall be further considered.

Let us endeavour, first, to disencumber manufactures of the objections, that appear against them, the

NOTE.

\* *The Federal convention,*

*Vol. II, No. III,*

principal of which are, the high rate of labour, which involves the price of provisions—the want of a sufficient number of hands on any terms—the scarcity and dearness of raw materials—want of skill in the business itself—and its unfavourable effects on the health of the people.

Factories, which can be carried on by water-mills, wind-mills, fire, horses, and machines ingeniously contrived, are not burdened with any heavy expence of boarding, lodging, clothing, and paying workmen; and they multiply the force of hands to a great extent, without taking our people from agriculture. By wind and water machines, we can make pig and bar-iron, nail-roads, tire, sheet-iron, sheet-copper, and sheet-brass, anchors, ~~metal~~ of all kinds, gunpowder, writing, printing, and hanging paper, snuff, linseed oil, boards, planks, and scantling: and they assist us in finishing scythes, sickles, and woollen cloths. Strange as it may appear, they also card, spin, and weave by water, in the European factories. Bleaching and tanning must not be omitted, while we are speaking of the usefulness of water.

By fire, we conduct our breweries, distilleries, salt and potash works, sugar-houses, potteries, casting and steel furnaces, works for animal and vegetable oils, and refining drugs. Steam-mills have not yet been adopted in America; but we shall probably see them, after a short time, in New England and other places, where there are few mill seats, and in this and other great towns of the united states. The city of Philadelphia, by adopting the use of them, might make a saving of about five per cent. on all the grain brought hither by water, which is afterwards manufactured into meal: and they might be usefully applied to many other valuable purposes.

Horses give us, in some instances, relief from the difficulties we are en-

deavouring to obviate. They grind the tanners' bark and potters' clay. They work the brewers' and distillers' pumps; and might be applied, by an inventive mind, as the moving principle of many kinds of mills.

Machines, ingeniously constructed, will give us immense assistance. The cotton and silk manufactures in Europe are possessed of some that are invaluable to them. One instance I have had precisely ascertained, which employs a few hundreds of women and children, and performs the work of twelve thousand carders, spinners, and winders. They have been so curiously improved of late years, as to weave the most complicated manufactures. In short, combinations of machines, with fire and water, have already performed much more than was formerly expected from them by the most visionary enthusiast on the subject. Perhaps I may be too sanguine; but they appear to me fraught with immense advantages to us, and full of danger to the manufacturing nations of Europe: for should they continue to use and improve them, as they have hitherto done, their people must be driven to us for want of employment: and if, on the other hand, they should return to manual labour, we shall underwork them by those invaluable engines. We may certainly borrow some of their inventions: and others, of the same nature, we may strike out ourselves: for on the subject of mechanism, America may justly pride herself. Every combination of machinery may be expected from a country, a native son\* of which, reaching this inestimable object, at its highest point, has epitomized the motions of the spheres that roll throughout the universe.

The lovers of mankind, supported

NOTE.

\* David Rittenhouse, esq. of Pennsylvania.

by experienced physicians, and the opinions of enlightened politicians, have objected to manufactures as unfavourable to the health of the people. Giving to this humane and important consideration its full weight, it furnishes an equal argument against several other occupations, by which we obtain our comforts, and promote our agriculture. The painting business, for instance—reclaiming marshes—clearing swamps—the culture of rice and indigo—and some other employments—are even more fatal to those who are engaged in them. But this objection is urged principally against carding, spinning, and weaving, which were formerly manual and sedentary occupations. Our plan, as we have already shown, is not to pursue those modes, unless in cases particularly circumstanced: for we are sensible, that our people must not be diverted from their farms. Horses, and the potent elements of fire and water, aided by the faculties of the human mind, (except in a few healthful instances), are to be our daily labourers. After giving immediate relief to the industrious poor, these un- hurtful means will be pursued, and will procure us private wealth and national prosperity.

Emigration from Europe will also relieve and assist us. The blessings of civil and religious liberty in America, and the oppressions of most foreign governments—the want of employment at home, and the expectations of profit here—curiosity, domestic unhappiness, civil wars, and various other circumstances—will bring many manufacturers to this asylum for mankind. Ours will be their industry and what is of still more consequence, ours will be their skill. Interest and necessity, with such instructors, will teach us quickly. In the last century, the manufactures of France were next to none: they are now worth millions to her an-

nually. The manufactures of England have been more improved within the last twelve years, than in the preceding fifty. At the peace of 1762, the useful arts and manufactures were scarcely known in America. How great has been their progress since, unaided, undirected, and discouraged! Countenanced by your patronage, and promoted by your assistance, what may they not be, ere such another space of time shall elapse?

Wonderful as it must appear, the manufacturers of beer, that best of all our commodities, have lately been obliged to import malt from England. Here must be an inexcusable neglect, or a strange blindness to our most obvious interests. The cultivation of barley should certainly be more attended to: and, if I mistake not exceedingly, the present abundant crop of wheat will so fill our markets, that the farmer, who shall reap barley the ensuing year, will find it the most profitable of all grains. We cannot, however, have any permanent difficulty on this article.

Of flax and hemp, little need be said, but that we can increase them as we please, which we shall do according to the demand.

Wool must become much more abundant, as our country populates. Mutton is the best meat for cities, manufactories, seminaries of learning, and poor houses; and should be given by rule, as in England. The settlement of our new lands, remote from water-carriage, must introduce much more pasturage and grazing, than have been heretofore necessary: as sheep, horses, and horned cattle, will carry themselves to market, through roads impassible by waggons. The restrictions of our trade will also tend to increase the number of sheep. Horses and horned cattle used to form a great part of the New England cargoes for the English West India islands. These

animals are exported to those places now in very small numbers, as our vessels are excluded from their ports. The farms, capital, and men, which were formerly employed in raising them, will want a market for their usual quantity, and the nature of that country being unfit for grain, sheep must occupy a great proportion of their lands.

Cotton thrives as well in the southern states, as in any part of the world. The West India islands and those states raised it formerly, when the price was not half what it has been for years past in Europe.—It is also worth double the money in America, which it sold for before the revolution, all the European nations having prohibited the exportation of it from their respective colonies to any foreign country. It is much to be desired, that the southern planters would adopt the cultivation of an article from which the best informed manufacturers calculate the greatest profits, and on which some established factories depend.

Silk has long been a profitable production of Georgia and other parts of the united states, and may be increased, I presume, as fast as the demand will rise. This is the strongest of raw materials, and the great empire of China, though abounding with cotton, finds it the cheapest clothing for her people.

Iron we have in great abundance, and a sufficiency of lead and copper, were labour low enough to extract them from the bowels of the earth.

Madder has scarcely been attempted; but this and many other dye stuffs may be cultivated to advantage, or found in America.

Under all the disadvantages which have attended manufactures and the useful arts, it must afford the most comfortable reflexion, to every patriotic mind, to observe their progress in the united states, and particularly in Pennsylvania. For a long

time after our forefathers sought an establishment in this place, then a dreary wilderness, every thing necessary for their simple wants was the work of European hands. How great—how happy is the change! The list of articles we now make ourselves, if particularly enumerated, would fatigue the ear, and waste your valuable time. Permit me, however, to mention them under their general heads: meal of all kinds, ships and boats, malt and distilled liquors, potash, gunpowder, cordage, loaf-sugar, palkeboard, cards and paper of every kind, books in various languages, snuff, tobacco, starch, cannon, muskets, anchors, nails, and very many other articles of iron, bricks, tiles, potter's ware, mill-stones, and other stone work, cabinet work, trunks and Windsor chairs, carriages and harness of all kinds, corn-fans, ploughs and many other implements of husbandry, saddlery and whips, shoes and boots, leather of various kinds, hosiery, hats, and gloves, wearing apparel, coarse linens, and woollens, and some cotton goods, linseed and fish-oil, wares of gold, silver, tin, pewter, lead, brass, and copper, clocks and watches, wool and cotton cards, printing types, glass and stone ware, candles, soap, and several other valuable articles, with which the memory cannot furnish us at once.

If the nations of Europe possess some great advantages over us in manufacturing for the rest of the world, it is, however, clear, that there are some capital circumstances in our favour, when they meet us in our own markets. The expenses of importing raw materials, which, in some instances, they labour under, while we do not—the same charges in bringing their commodities hither—the duties we must lay on their goods for the purposes of revenue—the additional duties, though small, which we may venture to impose without risking the corruption of



morals, or the loss of the revenue by smuggling—the prompt payment our workmen receive—the long credits they give on their goods—the sale of our articles by the piece to the consumer, while they sell theirs by the invoice to an intermediate purchaser—the durable nature of some American manufactures, especially of linens—the injuries theirs often sustain from their mode of bleaching—these things, taken together, will give us an advantage of twenty-five to fifty *per cent.* on many articles, and must work the total exclusion of several others.

Besides the difference in the qualities of American and European linens, arising from the mode of bleaching, there is a very considerable saving of expense from the same cause. So much and so powerful a sunshine saves a great loss of time and expense of bleaching-drugs and preparations; and this will be sensibly felt in our factories of linen and cotton.

We must carefully examine the conduct of other countries in order to possess ourselves of their methods of encouraging manufactures, and pursue such of them, as apply to our own situation, so far as it may be in our power. Exempting raw materials, dye-stuffs, and certain implements for manufacturing, from duty on importation, is a very proper measure. Premiums for useful inventions and improvements, whether foreign or American, for the best experiments in any unknown matter, and for the largest quantity of any valuable raw material, must have an excellent effect. They would assist the efforts of industry, and hold out the noble incentive of honourable distinction to merit and genius. The state might with great convenience enable an enlightened society, established for the purpose, to offer liberal rewards in land for a number of objects of this nature. Our funds of that kind are considerable, and almost dormant.

An unsettled tract of a thousand acres, as it may be paid for at this time, yields very little money to the state. By offering these premiums for useful inventions, to any citizen of the union, or to any foreigner, who would become a citizen, we might often acquire in the man a compensation for the land, independent of the merit which gave it to him. If he should be induced to settle among us with a family and property, it would be of more consequence to the state than all the purchase money.

It might answer a useful purpose, if a committee of this society should have it in charge to visit every ship arriving with passengers from any foreign country, in order to enquire what persons they may have on board, capable of constructing useful machines, qualified to carry on manufactures, or coming among us with a view to that kind of employment. It would be a great relief and encouragement to those friendless people, in a land of strangers, and would fix many among us, whom little difficulties might incline to return.

Extreme poverty and idleness, in the citizens of a free government, will ever produce vicious habits, and disobedience to the laws; and must render the people fit instruments for the dangerous purposes of ambitious men. In this light the employment in manufactures, of our poor, who cannot find other honest means of subsistence, is of the utmost consequence. A man oppressed by extreme want, is prepared for all evil: and the idler is ever prone to wickedness: while the habits of industry, filling the mind with honest thoughts, and requiring the time for better purposes, do not leave leisure for meditating or executing mischief.

An extravagant and wasteful use of foreign manufactures, has been too just a charge against the people of America, since the close of the war. They have been so cheap, so

plenty, and so easily obtained on credit, that the consumption of them has been absolutely wanton. To such an excess has it been carried, that the importation of the finer kinds of coat, velt, and sleeve-buttons, buckles, broaches, breast-pins, and other trinkets, into this port only, is supposed to have amounted, in a single year, to ten thousand pounds sterling, which cost the wearers above sixty thousand dollars. This lamentable evil has suggested to many enlightened minds a wish for sumptuary regulations, and even for an unchanging national dress, suitable to the climate, and the other circumstances of the country. A more general use of such manufactures as we can make ourselves, would wean us from the folly we have just now spoken of, and would produce, *in a safe way*, some of the best effects of sumptuary laws. Our dress, furniture, and carriages, would be fashionable, because they were American, and proper in our situation: not because they were foreign, showy, or expensive. Our farmers, to their great honour and advantage, have been long in the excellent, economical practice of domestic manufactures for their own use, at least in many parts of the union. It is chiefly in the towns that this thirst for foreign finery rages and destroys. There, unfortunately---the disorder is epide-mical. It behoves us to consider our untimely passion for European luxuries as a malignant and alarming symptom, threatening convulsions and dissolution to the political body. Let us hasten, then, to apply the most effectual remedies, ere the disease becomes inveterate, lest unhappily we should find it incurable.

I cannot conclude this address, gentlemen, without taking notice of the very favourable and prodigious effects upon the landed interest, which may result from manufactures. The breweries of Philadelphia, in their

present infant state, require forty thousand bushels of barley annually; and, when the stock on hand of English beer shall be consumed, will call for a much larger quantity. Could the use of malt liquors be more generally introduced, it would be, for many reasons, a most fortunate circumstance. Without insisting on the pernicious effects of distilled liquors, it is sufficient for our present purpose to observe, that a thousand hogheads of rum and brandy mixed with water for common use will make as much strong drink as will require one hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain to make an equivalent quantity of beer, besides the horses, fuel, hops, and other articles of the country, which a brewery employs. The fruits of the earth, and the productions of nature in America, are also required by various other manufacturers, whom you will remember without enumeration. But it is not in their occupations only, that these valuable citizens call for our native commodities. They, and their brethren, who work in foreign articles; with their wives, children, and servants, necessarily consume in food and raiment a prodigious quantity of our produce; and the buildings, for the accommodation of their families and business, are principally drawn from our lands. Their effects upon agriculture are of more consequence than has ever been supposed by those who have not made the necessary estimates. So great are the benefits to the landed interest which are derived from them, that we may venture to assert, without apprehension of mistake, that the value of American productions, annually applied to their various uses, as just now stated, without including the manufacturers of flour, lumber, and bar-iron, is double the aggregate amount of all our exports in the most plentiful year with which providence has ever blessed this fruitful

country. How valuable is this market for our increasing produce ! How clearly does it evince the importance of our present plan ! But we may venture to proceed a step further—without manufactures, the progress of agriculture must be arrested on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. Though we have a country practicable for roads, our western counties are yet unable to support them, and too remote, perhaps, to use land carriage of the most easy kind. Providence has given them, in certain prospects, a passage by water : but the natural impediments, though very inconsiderable, and the more cruel obstructions arising from political circumstances, are yet to be removed. The inhabitants of the fertile tracts adjacent to the waters of the Ohio, Potomac, and Susquehanna, besides the cultivation of grain, must extend their views immediately to pasturage, and grazing, and even to manufactures. Foreign trade will never take off the fruits of their labour in their native state. They must manufacture first for their own consumption ; and when the advantages of their mighty waters shall be no longer suspended, they must become the great factory of American raw materials for the united states. Their resources in wood and water are very great ; their treasures in coal are almost peculiar. As they cannot sell their grain but for home consumption, and must propagate sheep and cattle for the reasons above stated, their country will, in a short time, be the cheapest upon earth. Let us observe the seduction of provisions and raw materials, which even the present year will produce among them, and thence judge, with the necessary consideration, of the time to come.

How numerous and important, then, do the benefits appear, which may be expected from this salutary design ! It will consume our native

productions now increasing to superabundance : it will improve our agriculture, and teach us to explore the fossil and vegetable kingdoms, into which few researches have hitherto been made : it will accelerate the improvement of our internal navigation, and bring into action the dormant powers of nature and the elements : it will lead us, once more, into the paths of virtue, by restoring frugality and industry, those potent antidotes to the vices of mankind, and will give us real independence, by rescuing us from the tyranny of foreign fashions, and the destructive torrent of luxury.

Should these blessed consequences ensue, those severe restrictions of the European nations, which have already impelled us to visit the distant regions of the eastern hemisphere, defeating the schemes of short-sighted politicians, will prove, through the wisdom and goodness of Providence, the means of our **POLITICAL SALVATION**,



*Account of the silk mills at Derby, in England.*

**I**N these mills are 26,586 wheels, and 27,745 movements, continually working, except on Sundays. This grand machine is disposed in four stories of large rooms, above each other ; and the whole is actuated by one great water-wheel, which goes round three times in a minute. In each time of its going round, 73,778 yards of silk are twisted, so that in twenty-four hours, 318,904,960 yards are executed. The waterwheel is kept constantly going ; but on Sundays, it is disengaged from all the rest of the work. Any part of these movements may be stopped without the least prejudice or interruption to the rest.

Wond'rous machine! thy curious fabric shows  
 How far the pow'r of human wisdom goes:  
 Where many thousand movements all attend  
 Upon a wheel, and on that cause depend.  
 Sceptic, advance! propose thy scheme of wit,  
 That faith to reason always must submit:  
 Whence learn'd these movements to obey command?  
 Who taught them how to roll, and when to stand?  
 Was it by chance this curious fabric came?  
 Or did some thought precede, and rule the frame,  
 Worthy the mortal, on whole soul, confess,  
 His great Creator's image stands impress?  
 Now turn from earth to heav'n thy doubting eyes,  
 And read th' amazing glories of the skies!  
 Worlds without number roll in diff'rent spheres,  
 Keep to their seasons, and complete their years!  
 Five thousand circuits, made with equal force,  
 The earth has finish'd by its annual course.  
 The sun dispenses beams of genial light,  
 And lends his rays to cheer the gloomy night.  
 Stupendous pow'r and thought! enquire no more;  
 Own the FIRST MOVER! and, convinc'd, ADORE!

—●●●—  
*Estimate of the present value of the several manufactures of Great Britain.*

THE woolen,	£. 16,300,000
Leather,	10,500,000
Flax,	1,750,000
Hemp,	890,000
Glass,	680,000
Paper,	780,000
Porcelain,	1,000,000
Silk,	3,350,000
Cotton,	960,000
Lead,	1,650,000
Tin,	1,000,000
Iron,	8,700,000
Steel and plating	3,400,000

Total, £. 51,410,000

These are estimated to give employment to upwards of five millions of people.

—●●●—  
*Account of Albion mill, erected near Blackfriar's bridge, in London.*

THE particulars of this admirable work are as follow:

Two fire-engines,

The cylinder, a thirty-six inch bore.

The length of the strokes seven feet.

The number of the strokes, twenty in a minute.

There are to be thirty pair of stones.

The diameter of the stones, five feet.

The diameter of the log-wheels, seven feet.

There are to be twelve bolting mills.

The consumption of coals for the copper of each engine, five bushels in an hour.

The quantity of work done by each pair of stones, five bushels of meal in an hour.

—●●●—  
*The utility of manufactures.*

[From a late London publication.]

THE raw materials of most manufactures, enhance their value, in their improved state, beyond all computation.

One hundred pounds laid out in wool, and that wool manufactured into goods for the Turkey market, and raw silk brought home, and



manufactured in England, would increase the hundred pounds to five thousand. This quantity of silk manufacture sent to New Spain, would return ten thousand pounds.

The same may be said of a parcel of iron-stone, which, when originally dug from its natural bed, is not worth more than five shillings, but when manufactured into iron and steel, and thence moulded into all the various articles of iron ware, is capable of producing a sum of not less than ten thousand pounds.

Steel may be made near three hundred times dearer than standard gold, weight for weight: for six of the steel wire springs for watch pendulums weigh but one grain, and, when appropriated by a skilful artist, they are each worth seven shillings and six pence sterling. This is two pounds five shillings, or five hundred and forty pence, for the whole: whereas a single grain of gold is worth no more than two pence.

Twenty acres of fine flax, manufactured into the dearest and most proper goods for foreign markets, may, on return, produce ten thousand pounds. One ounce of the finest Flanders thread has been sold in London for four pounds: and such an ounce, made in Flanders into the finest lace, may be sold in London for forty pounds, which is about ten times the price of standard gold, weight for weight.

This fine thread is spun by children, whose feeling is nicer than that of grown people, by which they are capable of spinning such an exquisite thread, even smaller than the finest hair: and one ounce of that thread is said to reach in length sixteen thousand yards.

*Essay on the promotion of American manufactures. By William Barton, Esq.*

EVERY man must be convinced, that a people, who have re-  
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course to foreign markets for almost every article of their consumption, can be independent in name only; and are incapable, under such circumstances, of becoming either great or prosperous. There is not, perhaps, any nation that is rendered so dependent, by nature. And yet, how extraordinary is it, that this country, to which providence has been peculiarly bountiful, in the distribution of those things that contribute to the convenience, ease, and happiness of man, should unnecessarily and wantonly give a preference to foreign commodities, although at the expense of the most important interests of the government and individuals! There is no country possessing greater natural advantages: and, consequently, no nation can be more respectable and happy than the united states may become by a proper improvement of those advantages: but, to make the most of them, we must practise the virtues of industry and economy—virtues essential to the well-being of a republic. Our governments must also promote the introduction of useful manufactures and trades among us; and protect such as are already instituted. Thus we shall employ and enrich our own citizens; accelerate the population of an extensive and valuable country; and increase our national strength, dignity, and independence.

If we take a view of the various articles of trade and commerce, which our country supplies, and of the numerous and profitable manufactures and employments, which may be established in the several states, under due encouragement, we shall be convinced we may become, in a few years, a thriving, happy, and truly independent people. Previous to the late revolution, it was a favourite sentiment among Englishmen, and an opinion imbibed by too many Americans, that it was contrary to the interest of this coun-  
G

try to carry on manufactures. However just the observation might have appeared to Englishmen, when applied to us as colonists, and a subordinate part of the British empire, it is totally inapplicable to us as a sovereign and distinct power. All the principal advantages that Europeans can derive from manufactures and mechanic arts, may be obtained by their introduction here. The inhabitants of America are supposed to double their numbers every twenty years: what, then, is to become of this vast increase of the inhabitants of our towns? They cannot be all labourers: and but a small part can engage in husbandry, the learned professions, or merchandize: consequently, the greater part must apply to trades and manufactures, or starve. Besides, it is to be supposed, that a very considerable proportion of the emigrants from Europe, hither, will be tradesmen, who are neither capable nor desirous of becoming farmers: and, in proportion to the encouragement manufactures receive, will be the accession of tradesmen and mechanics to us, from abroad.

Labour is dear in America, because the lands are thinly settled, in proportion to their extent: and this has been urged as a powerful reason, why we cannot manufacture to advantage. But it ought to be considered, that as population increases, (and this, it has been observed, is very rapidly), the price of labour will fall: and that altho' our manufactures may, for some years to come, be higher than foreign ones, yet, as the price of the former would be paid to our own citizens, and that money be kept in the country, which would otherwise leave it, to return no more—we might thereby be better enabled to pay the advanced price for our own, than somewhat less for foreign commodities. It is, at any rate, our interest, as a nation, to

support those manufactures, in the first place, which are produced from the native productions and raw materials of the country, or from such as may be easily procured, and which require not much labour in proportion to the value. Many of the smaller kind might employ numbers of industrious poor, unfit for hard labour, and likewise women and children.

It is not necessary to add any further observations on this subject. The following LIST will, probably, suggest some additional reflexions on this object of great national importance.

*A list of raw materials and natural productions which now are or may readily be, furnished by the united States of America; and of such articles, and branches of manufactures and the useful arts, as are best adapted to the resources and situation of this country—for home consumption and use, and for exportation.*

## ANCHORS,

Anvils,  
 Adirons,  
 Axes, (felling and broad)  
 Adzes,  
 Apparel, (wearing)  
 Anniseeds,  
 Apples,  
 Augurs,  
 Bar-iron,  
 Beef, (salted and dried)  
 Biscuit and ship-bread,  
 Bricks,  
 Buckskins, (dressed)  
 Butter,  
 Brass-foundry,  
 Bell-foundry,  
 Beer, ale and porter,  
 Bellows,  
 Bagging,  
 Brushes, of hogs' bristles,  
 Button-moulds, of horn, bone, and wood,  
 Beans,

Bees-wax,  
Buck-wheat,  
Black cattle,  
Bear-skins,  
Bristles,  
Barley,  
Books, printing of,  
Book-binding,  
Bark (for tanning,)  
Brass battery,  
Brass, (sheet)  
Castings of iron,  
Cabinet-ware,  
Cables and cordage,  
Carpeting,  
Callico-printing,  
Copper, sheet-copper, and copper  
coin, by authority,  
Copper-smiths' ware,  
Cotton,  
Cotton cards,  
Coaches, chariots, chaises, &c.  
Clocks,  
Compasses, for land surveyors and  
mariners,  
Cod-fish, (cured)  
Cheese,  
Cyder,  
Chocolate,  
Candles and candle-wick,  
Cottons (printed)  
Cherry-tree plank and board,  
Carraway seed,  
Cedar ware,  
Coopers' ware  
Carpenters' work,  
Carving and gilding,  
Checks, (linen and cotton)  
Deer-skins, made into gloves,  
breeches, &c.  
Dying of cotton, worsted, and linen  
yarn,  
Dying and scouring of silks and  
woolens,  
Drugs of various kinds,  
Dried peaches, apples, &c.  
Engraving of plate, copper-plates,  
seals, &c.  
Fans, (for winnowing corn)  
Feathers and feather-beds,  
Frying-pans, &c.  
Fennel-seed,

Furs and furriery,  
Fulling of woolens,  
Flax and flaxseed,  
Fish (salted and pickled)  
Fishing tackle,  
Fire-arms,  
Flour, of wheat, rye, buck-wheat, &c.  
Floor cloths, (painted)  
Fire-engines,  
Fire-shovels and tongs,  
Ginseng,  
Gartering, coach-lace, orrice, &c.  
Gun-powder,  
Glue,  
Glass-ware and window-glass,  
Gammons, hams, and bacon,  
Garden-seeds,  
Hosiery, (of thread, cotton, and wor-  
sted)  
Hoes, picks, and mattocks,  
Hair-powder,  
Hulled or pearl barley,  
Harpicords, spinnets, &c.  
Hops,  
Hides,  
Horses,  
Hats, (beaver, castor, and felt)  
Hats, (chip, straw, &c.)  
Hemp,  
Harts' or bucks' horn, and shavings  
of ditto,  
Hogs' lard,  
Honey,  
Horn-plates, combs, powder-flasks,  
&c.  
Herbs, &c. of divers kinds,  
Herring (salted)  
Iron,  
Indigo,  
Indian corn,  
Juniper-berries,  
\* Linens (coarse and some fine)

NOTE.

\* "All parts of the linen manu-  
" facture, from the harvesting of flax  
" to the sale of the cloth, may be per-  
" formed by women, boys, and girls :  
" there will be, consequently, no mis-  
" application of strength in this busi-  
" ness." Bailey's treatise on the em-  
" ployment of the poor in work-houses,  
and on the growth and culture of flax.

Lumber,  
Lime,  
Lampblack,  
Lead, and lead shot,  
Linsey-woolseys,  
Leather, of various kinds,  
Live flock.  
Lasts and heels, for shoemakers,  
Mackarel, (salted)  
Mustard-seed, and mustard,  
Mill-stones,  
Mill-wright work,  
Masts, yards, and spars,  
Malt,  
Malt-liquors,  
Mill-saws,  
Mattraffes, of hair, wool, &c.  
Marble, and other stone-work,  
Metheglin,  
Millenary,  
Madder,  
Muslins, (coarse)  
Musical instruments, &c.  
Mathematical and optical instruments  
of divers kinds,  
Naval stores,  
Nails and spikes,  
\* Nuts of divers kinds,  
Organ building,  
Oil, (train, walnut, linseed, &c.)  
Oats and oatmeal,  
Onions and garlick,  
Pit-coal or stone-coal,

NOTE.

\* These, and some other articles in the list, may appear too insignificant to merit notice. But, in commercial countries, every thing that may be employed in trade deserves attention. The French send great quantities of chestnuts to foreign countries; particularly to the Dutch, who transport them to the northern parts of Europe. Why, then, may not the American chestnuts, walnuts, hickory nuts, anniseeds, apples, &c. be employed to the best advantage for the good of the country? There may, perhaps, be some articles which have escaped notice, and been omitted in the catalogue,

Pig-iron,  
Pork, (salted)  
Pease,  
Plate, (gold and silver, wrought)  
Plumbery, divers articles of  
Pot and pearl-ashes,  
Paper, (writing, printing, hanging, &c.)  
Pewterers' ware, divers articles of  
Potters' ware,  
Pasteboard,  
Parchment,  
Pitch,  
Pipes, (tobacco)  
Plane-stocks,  
Painting and glazing,  
Portrait, historical, and miniature painting,  
Rice,  
Rofin,  
Rhubarb, and other medicinal plants and drugs,  
Red lead,  
Roots of divers kinds,  
Ship and boat-building,  
Sail-cloth,  
Shoes and boots,  
Shoes, women's, of fluff and silk,  
Spirits, distilled from rye, barley, perfirmmons, peaches, &c. &c.  
Salt, (common)  
Sal ammoniac,  
Sal volatile,  
Shovels and spades,  
Soap,  
Ship-timber and plank,  
Scale beams and steel-yards,  
Springs for wheel carriages,  
Sickles and scythes,  
Silk, (raw)  
Staves and heading, and shingles,  
Snuff,  
Smith's ware, and cutlery of various kinds,  
Straw hats, bonnets, mats, &c.  
Salpeterere,  
Sugar-refining, and sugar from the sugar-maple,  
Seine twine and pack-thread,  
Starch,  
Sealing-wax,  
Sassaaparilla,



Snake-root,  
Sassafras,  
Skins of divers kinds,  
Stays, (women's)  
Sacking-bottoms,  
Spermaceti candles, &c.  
Sadlery and harness,  
Steel-refining,  
Sewing-thread,  
Shad, (salted)  
Sheep,  
Turnery-ware, (wooden)  
Tallow,  
Tortoise-shell,  
Trunnels, of locust, for ship-build-  
ing,  
Tobacco, and ditto for chewing and  
smoking,  
Tin-plate ware,  
Types, (printing)  
Tiles,  
Tar,  
Turpentine,  
Timber, for building, &c.  
Trunks,  
Tapes,  
Umbrellas,  
Vinegar,  
Verdigris,  
Venison hams,  
Wheat,  
Woolens, (coarse and some fine)  
Wool-cards,  
Wicker-ware,  
Walnut plank and boards,  
Windfor chairs,  
Wool,  
White-lead,  
Walking-sticks, of hickory, maple,  
apple-tree, &c.  
Whips,  
Whalebone,  
Wood, for fuel, &c.  
Wine, of currants, cherries, the  
grape, &c.  
Wafers,  
Wheel-wright's work, as waggons,  
ploughs, harrows, &c.  
Watches,  
Wire, of iron and brass.

*Process for converting cast iron into  
malleable iron.*

*Milton, April 19, 1787.*

Mr. Printer,

**M**Y very valuable friend, mr. Adams, who embraces every occasion to promote the interest, as well as the honour of his country, has transmitted to me the enclosed letter, from mr. Hartley, to the commissioners of the British navy, respecting mr. Cort's *process for converting cast iron into malleable iron*. The subject is important to this country; and the process is interelling: I therefore recommend the publication of it, as a mean of diffusing a very useful discovery.

I am, your humble servant,

JAMES WARREN.

*Golden Square, June 19, 1786.*

Gentlemen,

**I** BEG your permission to transmit to you some observations upon mr. Cort's method of converting pig iron into good and malleable metal. I understand, that your board has instituted an enquiry into the proof of the facts, and that is my apology for presuming to offer to you the following observations upon the same subject, which were made upon the spot. The enquiry cannot be lodged in better hands than yours. I shall be very glad if the following remarks may in any degree contribute to illustrate the principles of this important discovery. The comparison of facts and principles together, is, in every case, the surest and safest road to proof.

Having heard last summer at Portsmouth yard, that mr. Cort had discovered a method of making the very best of iron out of common iron ballast, by a short and simple process, and that your board was disposed to give encouragement to him, I went to his works, and, as far as I could

judge, his invention appeared to me to be founded on simple principles, for reducing iron to its natural and best state, by the expulsion of all heterogeneous and unmetallic particles; the fundamental principle being, that iron is in itself a simple homogeneous metal, and that all iron is equally good when purified from heterogeneous and unmetallic particles.

The ordinary mode of converting cast iron to malleable iron, is by the use of a very great quantity of charcoal, which contains what the chymists call the phlogiston, and which has the quality of remetalizing demetalized particles, which are mixed up with iron while in fusion. The method used by Mr. Cort is not by charcoal. He uses sea coal entirely, because it is not his principle to remetalize any of the demetalized particles, but to expel them.

The process, as I saw it three or four times over, is something to this effect:—Between two and three hundred weight of common iron ballast is melted in an air furnace with sea coal. When melted, it spits out in blue sparks the sulphur which is mixed with it. The workman keeps constantly stirring it about, which helps to disengage the sulphureous particles; and when thus disengaged, they burn away in blue sparks. In about an hour after melting, the spitting of these blue sparks begins to abate (the workman stirring it all the time) and the melted metal begins to curdle, and to lose its sensibility, just like solder when it begins to set. The cause of which I take to be this: the stirring not only disentangles the sulphur, but it gives opportunity for like to meet with like; by which means metallic particles meet and coalesce, never to separate again, and then they become unfusible. The unmetallic particles, which, being of a vitrifiable nature, contribute to fix the whole mass, are partly calcined,

and partly burnt away. The whole mass, at the end of the first part of the process, consists of metallic particles and dross sticking together, but not incorporated. The clotting of the metallic particles by the stirring about, may be compared to churning. As the stirring of cream, instead of mixing and uniting the whole together, separates like particles to like, so it is with the iron:—what was at first melted, comes out of the furnace in clotted lumps, about as soft as welding heat, with metallic parts and dross mixed together, but not incorporated. These lumps, when cold, resemble great cinders of iron. They are called loops.

The next part of the process is to heat these loops to the hottest welding heat in an air furnace, and to put them under a great forge hammer, which by a few strokes at the very highest point of the welding heat, consolidates the metallic parts into a slab or malleable iron about three feet and a half long, and three inches square. The hammer, at the same time, expels and scatters the unmetallic dross. These slabs are brought to a wedge point at one end. They are malleable iron, but still with a considerable mixture of dross.

The last part of the process is, to heat these slabs to the hottest welding heat, in an air furnace, and then to pass them through the rollers of a rolling mill; the slabs being extremely soft, at the highest point of welding heat, the force of the rollers consolidates the metallic parts into bar iron, and the dross is squeezed out, and falls under the rollers. This is the whole process; and thus in about six hours, I have seen a piece of common iron ballast rolled into a ship's bolt. I have then seen this bolt laid hallow across the eye of a large forge hammer, and receive two hundred and fifty strokes of the heaviest sledge

hammer; and thus bent double, without breaking, or suffering the least apparent injury.

I conceive the two principles of this invention to be first burning off and calcining the sulphur and the demetallized particles of ballast iron, instead of endeavouring to restore the demetallized parts with charcoal at a great expence, and still leaving the business undone; and, secondly, expelling the dross, and consolidating the metal, by squeezing it through the rollers, instead of the common mode of hammering, which requires a considerable length of time, during which time the metal loses the softness of a welding heat, and becomes too hard to suffer the expulsion of the unmetallized parts. The common mode, therefore, operates with much less effect than mr. Cort's mode, because it operates upon a less degree of heat and softness. It consolidates heterogeneous particles into the body of the iron, instead of expelling them by the expeditious and forcible impression of the rollers in the softest state of welding heat. It is to be observed, likewise, that the common blooms, as they are called, in ordinary forges of iron are nearly three times as thick, and solid, as the slabs in mr. Cort's process, and therefore much less affected by the blow of the hammer, than his slabs are under the effects of the rollers. His slabs are small, soft, and ductile, and therefore easily suffer the expulsion of the dross by the squeezing of the rollers.

These appear to me to be the principles of mr. Cort's discovery. They appear to be conformable to chemical reasoning, and to the general principles of metallurgy. The demetallized particles of ballast iron, to demetallized by the sulphur in the ore, form the alloy of iron; when the sulphur is carried off by the fire, and by stirring the metal about while in fusion, and when the alloy of unmetallized particles is expelled by the ap-

plication of the hammer and rollers in the softest state of welding heat; the metallic parts, thus kneaded and consolidated together, form the refined and homogeneous metal iron. Mr. Cort may therefore be said to have discovered for this country, an immense iron mine above ground, as all pig-iron, and common ballast iron, may, by this process, be purified into good metal. It is not improbable that this discovery may produce a great revolution in iron matters between imported and home made iron.

The proof of facts, which are stated to your board, from the proper officers employed by you in this enquiry, form the basis of the case. The illustration, which flows from this discussion of principles, confirms the interpretation of the facts into proofs of the merit of the invention; because those facts proceed through every stage of the process coherently with the principles which constitute the invention, and consistently with the general and acknowledged principles of metallurgy, and because the perfection of the metal results from the strict adherence in the operation to the principles of the process. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant.

D. HARTLEY.

*To the principal officers and commissioners of his majesty's navy.*

*Reflexions on the policy and necessity of encouraging the commerce of the citizens of the united States of America, and of granting them exclusive privileges in trade—written by St. George Tucker, esq. of Petersburg.*

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following reflexions were executed by an order of the British cabinet, dated July 9, 1783, and

soon after published in one of the gazettes of this commonwealth.

THE assembly of Virginia having passed an act, at their next session, authorising congress to prohibit the importation of British West India produce, except in American bottoms, it was thought unnecessary to communicate them to the public, as it was hoped the example set by the assembly of Virginia, would have been followed in the other states.

MEAN TIME, the event but too fully justified the fears of the author. Several of his friends, to whom these observations were communicated, when first committed to paper, have made repeated applications to him, of late, to publish them. In compliance with their request, they are now submitted to the public eye. One observation, only, will the author venture to offer in their behalf, that they were dictated by no private views or consideration whatsoever. He laments very sincerely, that his situation did not permit him to obtain such necessary information as might have illustrated his subject in many instances, and more fully demonstrated its importance. An accurate account of the annual exports and imports of America, (or of any one state,) with the number of vessels, seamen, &c. employed in her trade, would have thrown great light on his subject. He has been equally at a loss for materials in many other respects.

It is difficult, if not impracticable, to investigate the remote consequences of national revolutions: yet their secret springs are in motion from their commencement. Thus, it may require some considerable period for those events, with which the late revolution is already pregnant, to manifest themselves. The politician will endeavour to trace them; and the patriot, to benefit his country by the discovery.

That glorious and important event

hath not produced a greater change in our form of government, than in our political interests. So long as we were colonies, dependent on Great Britain, the most meritorious subject was the man, whose talents were exerted to promote the interest and aggrandizement of the parent state. Was there an Englishman who did not avow, or was there an American hardy enough to controvert, this grand political maxim—that the interests of America must, in all things, be subservient to those of Britain? This doctrine was advanced in parliament by the late lord Chatham, at the very time that America was erecting statues to his memory. But since this is no longer the basis of our political creed, he is the best citizen, whose aim is to advance the interest of his native country, to promote her happiness, to raise her consequence among the nations, and to defend her from foreign influence and insult, as well as from intestine jars and the machinations of domesticated enemies.

However inconsistent with the ideas of those, who feel a predilection for their former masters, and under the words, peace and reconciliation, couch the same meaning which, during the war, they affixed to violence and persecution, I shall venture to advance, as an opinion not to be controverted, that our late separation from Great Britain, after a violent struggle, on her part, to reduce us to unconditional subjection, renders her our NATURAL ENEMY. For, when a separation succeeds to an union of interests, the parties necessarily become rivals: so where an usurped authority hath been violently shaken off, a vindictive jealousy will remain in his bosom, whose strength is unequal to his arrogance or ambition. Had America been subdued in the late contest, we might have eaten with our knives chained to our tables, as we are told



the Catalonians do at this day, for having espoused the cause of the house of Austria, during the contests for the Spanish succession. At any rate, we should have been abridged of many of those privileges, which we challenged as our birth-right, and which we have vindicated with our swords. Does ill success reconcile men's minds? It rather inflicts a malignant sting, against which prosperity is armed. Shall we then suppose that Britain regards America, as an independent nation, with a more favourable eye; than she would have done, if her numerous fleets and armies had accomplished the end of their mission?

If it be admitted, that Britain is the natural enemy of our liberty and independence, she must necessarily be the same to our political advancement, in every instance, but more particularly to our commercial interests. For, without an extensive territory, she is rich, powerful, and formidable among nations, whose territories are more extensive, more opulent, and more powerful, than her own. These advantages she derives from commerce, which, at this day, may be considered as the barometer of power: and the rise or declension of nations may be, in a great measure, ascertained by that standard. The Russian empire, now so formidable, was but a wilderness of barbarians, at the beginning of the present century. While the czar Peter was studying the art of ship-building, he was, in effect, laying the most solid foundation for the future greatness of his empire. A few years will shew us the fleets of Russia, pervading the utmost limits of the globe.

This opinion, with respect to commerce, may be controverted by those who deduce all their reasoning and examples from antiquity. Whence comes it, they will ask, that Rome, as well as many other nations of the old world, ascended, in turn, to the

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pinnacle of human greatness, without the aid of commerce? or how does it appear, that she hath been peculiarly instrumental in the great work of erecting or demolishing empires? Without descending to an elaborate discussion of these questions, it will, I conceive, be a sufficient answer, to call the reader's attention, for a moment, to the revolution produced in the art and system of war, by the discovery of the virtues of the magnetic needle, with the use of the quadrant, and the invention of gunpowder.

The heroes of antiquity, marching at the head of numerous armies, bore down all before them, until an arm of the sea, or some wide river, was opposed to their progress: these were often insurmountable barriers to the career of victory. Cesar, it is true, passed over from Gaul to the conquest of Britain: and even before that time, the Romans had frequently traversed the Mediterranean with their fleets, and seem to have formed some idea of the importance of a naval superiority: yet their ships resembled the canoes of new Zealand, rather than the modern ships of war: and even in their naval engagements, the conflict was decided hand to hand, as on shore. Had Augustus, returning in triumph from the battle of Actium, encountered a modern fifty gun ship, he would never have ascended the imperial chair of Rome. The armed beaks of his triremes would have availed him as little, as the skill of his navigators would have done, in an attempt to cross the Atlantic ocean.

As the compass and quadrant enabled mankind to extend their commerce and navigation to regions before unknown, so the invention of gunpowder by the astonishing improvements in projectiles, to which it gave rise, co-operated with those discoveries in transferring the sinews of power, in a great measure, from the earth to the ocean—for the most

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powerful of modern nations are those who support the greatest maritime force. This force cannot be supported without the aid of commerce: for navigation and commerce mutually promote and support each other. Hence it has become a maxim with all the maritime powers, to give every possible aid to those branches of their commerce which favour navigation. Upon this principle it is, that Britain gives a bounty to her ships which are engaged in the fisheries—a branch of trade which she considers as furnishing a nursery of seamen for her ships of war, and which, on account of the small profit it produces, would otherwise, probably, be engrossed by other nations, whose situations are more favourable for carrying it on.

From this wise attention to her commerce and navigation, Britain has gained that ascendancy which first enabled her to arrogate to herself the proud title of mistress of the ocean; a title of such pre-eminence, that the whole scope of her politics seems to be directed to its support; and of all others the most formidable, so long as there remain sufficient wisdom and energy in her government to maintain it. To do this, the most ready and effectual means are, to undermine or engross the trade of every other nation. Her navigation-acts and her monopolies, are alike calculated to concentrate all the riches accumulated by her subjects in various quarters of the globe, within her own precincts. The American merchant, the West India planter, and the East India nabob, all *go home* to enjoy the fruits of their labours. Thus for more than a century, has she drawn into her vortex all the riches of those countries to which her subjects have had access, as dependencies upon her government. These last were mere factories, whose inhabitants toiled, not for their own benefit, but for the aggrandizement of

Britain. Virginia, at the commencement of the late war, was precisely in that situation. The merchants of London, Glasgow, Bristol, Whitehaven, and Liverpool, engrossed the whole trade of the colony. Was Virginia enriched by her produce? Quite the reverse. The monuments of her fertility and riches were only to be found in the possession of British merchants; the badges of poverty and dependence were worn by her own inhabitants. Britain, and Britain only, reaped those blessings which providence had destined for this country.

Should any one incline to doubt this position let him remember in what manner the trade of Virginia was conducted. The merchants of Britain not only brought into Virginia all foreign productions whatsoever, in British ships, but were the sole carriers of the produce of Virginia to the British markets. Hence they imposed whatever prices they thought fit, on the commodities which they vended, and gave just what they pleased for those which they purchased. Thus our markets, both in buying and selling, were wholly regulated as they thought fit. The trade of Virginia was a monopoly, from which her natives were wholly excluded. Let it not be supposed that I utter the dictates of an ill-founded prejudice. To minister to our luxuries, and encourage extravagance, was the policy of these people, so long as our estates were superior in value to the debt: a deed of trust or a mortgage closed the transaction\*.

## NOTE.

\* Though the author in speaking of the evils resulting to America from her trade being engrossed by the British merchants, has confined his observations to the fatal experience of Virginia, he fears he might have drawn his examples also from other states in the union.

But it has been said, by some, that we are no longer in danger of such impositions, since, by the establishment of our independence, our trade cannot hereafter be limited, as heretofore, by acts of the British parliament.

Many reasons occur to me, why we should not too soon rest satisfied in our security. The long use of British manufactures has stamped a kind of predilection for them in our minds. An habitual intercourse with the merchants of that nation—the extensive credit which they can afford to give to those who deal with them—the scarcity of ships among us—and the numbers which they own—together with the similarity of language and manners, and a long received opinion, that our commodities answer better in British markets than elsewhere—are, I fear, but too just grounds for apprehending, that our trade may revert to its former destructive channel. The last consideration, above enumerated, would certainly be of importance to a trading nation: but if our produce be exported by foreign merchants, of what consequence to us is the price they obtain? The profit is all their own: we have no interest in it.

In Hayes's gazette, of Sept. 27, 1783, there is an order of the British court, dated July 2, 1783, for regulating the intercourse between America and the British West India islands\*; by which certain commo-

NOTE.

\* Whereas by an act of parliament, passed this session, entitled, “an act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the united states of America, and to give his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants of the said united states;” it is among other things enacted, that during the continuance of the said act, it shall

and the produce of the united states of America, are permitted to be im-

NOTE.

and may be lawful for his majesty in council, by order or orders, to be issued and published from time to time, to give such directions, and to make such regulations, with respect to duties, drawbacks, or otherwise, for carrying on the trade and commerce between the people and territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain, and the people and territories of the said united states, as to his majesty in council shall appear most expedient and salutary; any law, usage, or custom, to the contrary, notwithstanding: his majesty doth, therefore, by and with the advice of his privy council, hereby order and direct, that pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp and flax, masts, yards, and bowsprits, staves, heading, boards, timber, shingles, and all other species of lumber, horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and all other species of live stock, and live provisions, peas, beans, potatoes, wheat, flour, bread, biscuit, rice, oats, barley, and all other species of grain, being the growth or production of any of the united states of America, may (until further order) be imported by British subjects in British-built ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any port of the united states of America, to any of his majesty's West India islands; and that rum, sugar, melasses, coffee, cocoa nuts, ginger, and pimento, may (until further order) be exported by British subjects, in British-built ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any of his majesty's West India islands, to any port or place within the said united states, upon payment of the same duties on exportation, and subject to the like rules, regulations, securities and restrictions, as the same articles by law are or may be subject and lia-

ported into those islands by *British subjects, in British-built ships, owned by British subjects, and navigated agreeable to their act of navigation*: the same order permits the exportation of certain West India produce to America under the like restrictions. It is observable here, that the permission hereby granted, is not to the citizens of America to trade with their islands, but a permission (in the grant of which, one would conceive, America should have been first consulted) for the inhabitants of their islands to trade with America.

I consider this edict as a declaration of the intentions and designs of the British cabinet with regard to America\*. A member of the British cabinet, were he candidly to avow his sentiments, would probably express himself to this effect:—

“ Though our arms have not been  
“ able to prevent the establishment  
“ of the independence of America;  
“ it is in our power to render that  
“ independence of little advantage  
“ to her. While dependent upon  
“ Britain, we never drew any reve-

## NOTES.

ble to, if exported to any British colony or plantation in America. And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

\* The order of council above-mentioned, has, from time to time, been renewed. An act of parliament, I have been told, has since passed, to the same effect. I have not seen it; nor have I seen the fishery and Newfoundland bill: but from what I have been told, the same principles are adopted throughout. The declining a treaty of commerce with America, is a further manifestation of the disposition of Great Britain towards America.

“ nue from America. Her trade was  
“ the only source of those riches,  
“ and of that consequence, which  
“ Britain derived from her subjec-  
“ tion. If, by any stratagem, we  
“ can continue to monopolize her  
“ trade, as heretofore, Britain can  
“ suffer no injury whatsoever from  
“ the American revolution. If the  
“ profits of her trade centre not in  
“ her own states, America will  
“ ever be indigent and contemptible;  
“ while the nation, which engrosses  
“ her trade, will increase in wealth  
“ and power, proportionate to *her*  
“ poverty. She never can possess an  
“ extensive navigation, until her  
“ commerce be conducted by her own  
“ citizens. Without an extensive  
“ navigation, she never can become  
“ formidable as a nation: for her  
“ situation precludes her from ac-  
“ quiring strength or consequence,  
“ except as a maritime power. To  
“ check or undermine her com-  
“ merce, is, therefore, the most in-  
“ fallible method of depressing her  
“ as a nation. The present moment  
“ is peculiarly favourable to our  
“ purpose. She has been exhausted  
“ by a long and burdensome war.  
“ Her produce has perished on her  
“ hands, for want of purchasers;  
“ while she has languished after the  
“ productions and manufactures of  
“ other countries. She will receive  
“ with open arms, those who first  
“ begin to trade with her: nor will  
“ she scrutinize the terms on  
“ which she is to deal. Our West  
“ India islands have heretofore af-  
“ forded a vent for many of her  
“ commodities. Three-fourths of  
“ her provision-trade, and almost the  
“ whole of her grain trade, centered  
“ there. This part of her commerce  
“ having been long interrupted, she  
“ will embrace, with avidity, the  
“ first means of restoring it. Those  
“ islands, also, produce many of  
“ the habitual necessities of life. Let  
“ it be our policy to permit our own



“ subjects to visit America in British  
“ ships, while we exclude American  
“ vessels from our islands. Hence a  
“ twofold advantage will accrue to  
“ Britain: we shall save the freight  
“ of our own commodities—shall  
“ be paid a freight on those we  
“ bring from America—regulate her  
“ markets as we please—and give an  
“ effectual check to any attempt, on  
“ the part of America, to advance in  
“ ship-building and navigation. It  
“ is as easy for us to engross the Eu-  
“ ropean trade. Those states, whose  
“ produce is adapted to our markets,  
“ have no ships of their own. If we  
“ prohibit the importation of the  
“ produce of one state of North  
“ America, in the ships of another,  
“ our own ships must necessarily be-  
“ come the carriers; and the ships  
“ of the trading states must perish,  
“ for want of employ, having no  
“ staple of their own to transport.  
“ Hence, it will follow, that we  
“ shall retrieve the advantages in our  
“ commerce with America, which  
“ we have imprudently lost; and  
“ shall effectually undermine and ru-  
“ in those states, whose natural ge-  
“ nius, enterprize, and circumstan-  
“ ces, might otherwise have led them  
“ to become formidable rivals to the  
“ commerce of Britain.”

Such, avowedly, is the policy of Britain. Such are her interests, and such her designs, with regard to America. It therefore becomes the citizens of America to consider the most effectual method of counteracting this policy, and of defeating designs pregnant with her destruction. The present moment requires no less energy of council and of conduct, than the most critical epocha of the late war. For to what end have we established the name of independent states, if the name be all we have gained? Is it consistent with the dignity of sovereign states, to be troubled by foreign power? Is not

the essence of independence destroyed, the moment that we become in any manner subject to foreign influence? What avails it, that a British king and a British parliament have acknowledged our independence, if British counsels be permitted to sap its foundation? Let us tamely submit to be dictated to by Britain, with regard to our commerce, and what will be the immediate consequences of such a submission? The answer is but too obvious. Our whole trade will be engrossed by British merchants, to the utter ruin of our own citizens—our riches centre in Britain, to the absolute impoverishment of America—our ports be strangers to any ships but those of Britain—and we shall become as ignorant of ship-building and navigation, as the native Indians. Can a country thus situated preserve her independence? Who shall defend her from the attacks of any nation, whom ambition may prompt to undertake the conquest? or what combination of circumstances can long avert such an evil? We have fatally experienced the want of a naval force heretofore. We may, at a future day, deplore the want of an ally, to supply that deficiency, as formerly. Or, admitting that we could always obtain succour, what heart is so degenerate, as to wish, on all occasions, to have recourse to its aid? The surest means of obtaining it in the hour of danger, is to guard against the necessity of asking it, and to be in a situation, if called upon, to afford reciprocal aid to others.

What then are the measures to be adopted, on the part of America, in order to this desirable end? The answer is not difficult: A reciprocal conduct towards those nations, which have not yet entered into any commercial treaties with her, and a steady adherence to those maxims and

that policy, by which other maritime nations have acquired and maintained their ascendancy.

Upon this principle of reciprocity, I conceive, that the soundest policy, would direct us absolutely to prohibit the importation of British West India commodities, except in ships built in the united states of America, and owned by the actual citizens of these states.

The effect of this measure would be, that, as America affords a vent for a considerable proportion of the produce of those islands, Britain must either admit our vessels into her ports in the West-Indies; or open to us free ports in some of her islands; or bring her West-India produce to some intermediate neutral port; or sacrifice the interests of her islands, to the policy of restraining America from being concerned in navigation at all.

It is probable, she will not adopt either the first or the last of these measures; and, unless she adopt one of these, or open free-ports to us in her own islands, the third will be a necessary consequence: for her islands must and will find a vent for their produce to our markets: they also must and will be supplied from America with those articles of consumption, which they have heretofore had from the united states, and which Canada and Nova-Scotia, with all the aid to be drawn from patronizing acts of parliament, will not, for many years, if ever, be able to furnish them with.

The consequence of this measure to America will be this. If Britain open her West-India ports entirely, we shall be able to contend with her ships for our share of the carrying trade. If she assign us a few free ports, the case will be the same. If she neglect to do either, our vessels will have three fourths of the carrying trade, and hers one-fourth; for there is no neutral port whither her

West-India subjects can repair to vend their produce, and purchase ours, but is three times nearer to the islands than to any part of America, north of South Carolina. In short Britain can by no possible means prevent a beneficial intercourse between America and the British West-Indies, if America should once refuse admittance to the produce of those islands, except in *American bottoms*. For as such an intercourse will be equally beneficial to the islands, as to us, if it be not permitted by law, means will be fallen upon, on their part, to evade the operation of the law.

This principle of reciprocity should be extended to every case, wherein an attempt is made to exclude us from a share in the carrying trade, or, in other words, from navigation\*. For wherever we find an act of parliament permitting the importation of our commodities into their colonies, we may safely draw one conclusion, *that those colonies cannot do without our commodities*. On the other hand, where the produce of the colonies is permitted to be exported directly to America, we may safely conclude, that this measure is dictated on a similar principle; *that America is the only market where a vent can be found for them*.

This is the true ground-work of the conduct of the court of Great Britain. They will permit their colonists to trade to America, so long as such an intercourse holds forth an

#### NOTE.

\* By what I have heard of the fishery and Newfoundland bill, the principles adopted in it, are precisely the same with those in the West India bill. I have seen neither; but am informed, that the ground-work of both is to exclude American vessels from any British colony, though they freely import American produce.

immediate national advantage to themselves. Let Canada and Nova Scotia supply the West Indies with lumber and provisions; let America submit to be excluded from her share in the carrying trade; and the next thing we should hear of, would be an act of parliament prohibiting all intercourse whatsoever between the West Indies and America; and every article of West India produce, consumed in America, would be brought to us from the island of Great-Britain, saddled with the additional charges of double freight, commissions, duties, and adulterations.

It has been the policy of every nation whose situation has permitted the hope of becoming a maritime power, to grant to her own subjects or citizens certain exclusive privileges in trade. America, with a most extensive sea coast, and detached as she is from other nations, by a wide ocean, or deserts unexplored, must necessarily turn her attention to this object, and possess every advantage which can possibly be required to promote a nation to the zenith of naval power. She possesses within herself all the materials for ship-building, a fruitful soil, a valuable staple, numberless bold navigable rivers, and a fishery on her coast. What then is wanting to enable her at once to rear her head, and assert her consequence amongst the nations of the earth? Nothing but salutary regulations in favour of her own citizens. Even Britain, at this day the first commercial nation in the universe, but two centuries past was scarcely heard of as a trading nation. Her own historians inform us, that in the days of queen Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. the Dutch had engrossed the trade of that island, as much as the Scotch had that of Virginia before the revolution. Cromwell, by the act of navigation, which is now emphatically styled the palladium of British commerce, first retrieved it, and laid the

foundation of its present flourishing state in that kingdom. Let us adopt that act as a pattern, and strictly adhere to principles, of whose efficacy we have so stupendous a monument before our eyes.

Upon this principle, the first object of America should be to encourage ship-building.

Nothing can so effectually promote this as the exempting ships built in America, from the payment of port, or all the duties which may be imposed on goods imported into these states from foreign nations.

Suppose, for example, that congress in their wisdom should recommend, and all the states adopt, the measure of imposing a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*, on all goods whatsoever, imported into any or either of the united states, from foreign parts, for the purpose of enabling the government to encourage the commerce of their own citizens and of such nations as have or shall enter into commercial treaties with us.

Let us then suppose, that a drawback of two and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, be allowed, where such goods are imported in the ships of nations, with which America is connected by treaty.

Next, let us suppose that a further drawback of two and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, be allowed on goods imported in ships built in America, by whomsoever owned, whether American citizens or foreigners.

Afterwards, let us suppose a further drawback of two and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, on all goods imported in American built ships, and owned by American citizens.

Lastly, let us suppose the whole duty taken off by each of the states, where goods are imported in ships built in that particular state, into which the goods are brought.

Here it is obvious to the meanest

comprehension, that the citizen of America, who imported his goods in a vessel built in the same state, would be able to undersell the person importing his goods in a vessel belonging to another state, two and a half per cent. He could undersell a foreigner, importing goods in an American ship, five per cent.—and a foreigner, of a nation in amity and alliance with America, importing his goods in a foreign built ship, seven and a half per cent. But he could undersell a merchant from a nation not in alliance with America, ten per cent. on the value. This would have one of two good effects. Foreigners would employ our vessels in their trade; or they would no longer be able to exclude our own citizens from a share in it.

Again, let us suppose, that, on the like recommendation, the several states were to impose a tonnage on all vessels whatsoever, except such as were built in their respective states.

That one fourth part of this tonnage be taken off, in favour of ships owned by citizens or subjects of nations in alliance with America.

That one half should be taken off, where such ships should appear to have been built in any of the united states.

And that three-fourths should be taken off, where the ship had been built in America, and was owned by citizens of the united states.

What a prodigious encouragement to ship-building would this measure hold forth, even if the tonnage, in its greatest extent, should not exceed five shillings our currency! \* A ship of three hundred tons, trading to the place where she was built, would save seventy-five pounds every voy-

#### NOTE.

\* The tonnage on all foreign ships in France, is one hundred sous, or five livres. In England, I am told, it is nearly five shillings sterling.

age, more than a foreign ship, from a nation not in alliance with us. This saving would be attended with the most important consequences to America.

Many regulations of this kind might be introduced in favour of the commerce of America, which it is neither within the design, nor could it be within the compass of these sheets, to point out. The governing principle, in all measures of this nature, should be, to encourage and advance commerce among our actual citizens, and enable them to trade upon equal terms, at least, with foreigners.

The advantages at present possessed by foreigners, are not a few. Large capitals, and extensive credit, are not among the least of these. By the assistance of this last, a British merchant can trade for five times the amount of his real capital. The American, on the contrary, cannot command the whole, perhaps not the fourth part, of his, on any emergency. Again, the British merchant can borrow money at four per cent. The American can borrow it on no terms whatsoever. If he gain a short credit, he must pay a higher interest for it, than the British merchant pays for ready money lent to him. Moreover, the British merchant, or his partner, purchases his goods himself, and saves the commission. He has a ship, which has been in the government service during the war, for which he can get no employment but in our trade. This is the same thing, almost, as saving the freight of his goods, too: for his ship would probably perish at his wharf, if not thus employed. Even in the article of insurance, another advantage accrues to him; for by the intrigues of those, whose interest it is to injure and depress America, a report has been industriously circulated that our ships are made prizes of by the states of Barbary. Whatever foun-



dation there may be for the report, it hath certainly affected the insurance on American ships bound to any part of Europe, and tends to abridge us wholly of any trade in any part of the Mediterranean. To these advantages, add those, which, as a British subject, he is entitled to in England, through the wise provisions of this act of navigation above referred to, as well as many other subsequent acts, and we shall find that the scale preponderates greatly in his favour. So that the British merchant enjoys a multitude of superior advantages in his own country, and, in America, he is upon equal terms with our citizens. Is it not obvious, then, that he can undermine and ruin the American trader, since he can sell cheaper than the other, while his profits are five times greater?

This is an alarming circumstance; and deserves to be fully considered: for we should bear in mind one thing on which the prosperity of our country depends—it is this great truth, that the gains of our own citizens augment and increase the common stock: while the gains of the British merchant impoverish America, and enrich her natural enemy.

From the indiscriminate admission of foreigners to the rights of citizenship, perhaps it may be somewhat difficult to exclude them from a participation of those privileges which are here recommended to be granted to actual citizens only. The wisdom of the several legislatures on the continent must be exerted to prevent a blessing being turned into a curse. In the interim, any regulations respecting ships, built in America, will not be subject to such perversion.

Those, who have not been concerned in commerce, can scarcely form an idea of what importance to America, the transportation of her own commodities to market will be, or how much may be annually saved to the states from that circumstance

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alone. It may suffice to show how much is now likely to be annually lost by the exportation of tobacco, alone, in foreign bottoms, unless the impending evil is averted.

Virginia and Maryland before the war exported about eighty thousand\* hogheads of tobacco annually, the freight on which was computed at forty shillings sterling, per hoghead, and amounted to the enormous sum of 160,000*l.* sterling annually. It is in our power, by wise regulations, to save the greater part, perhaps the whole of this sum to America. But if we suffer foreign nations to carry our produce to market for us, this sum is irretrievably lost to us. If we should allow that the freight on tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland, is equal to one fifth part of the freight on the whole of the exports from, and imports to, all the thirteen states, the sum saved to America, by carrying her own produce to market, and bringing back the returns, in her own vessels, would amount to 800,000*l.* sterling annually. This calculation, I am persuaded, is much too low; yet it is high enough to show the great importance of the subject, considered in the light of profit alone. Add to this, the annual profits which accrue to the merchant, and we might fairly conclude, that America will lose little less than two millions yearly, if her trade should be engrossed by foreigners, in exclusion of her own citizens: and that this must and will happen, without the interposition of the government, is but too evident from the reasons herein advanced.

NOTE.

\* It has been computed, that there were about three hundred ships employed in the tobacco trade alone, before the war: these would require about four thousand seamen to navigate them.

Before I conclude, let me call the attention of my reader for a moment to the debt due from America to the subjects of Great Britain, which I have heard estimated at four or five millions of pounds. This debt was accumulated from a balance in trade, annually accruing to Great Britain, from the causes herein before pointed out. That trade must be destructive, where such a balance continually arises against us. Surely it is proper to guard against such an event in future. This might be effected in part, perhaps, by laying heavy duties, if not actual prohibitions, on the importation of such articles as are the produce of the united states. Is it not surprising, for example, that bar iron, lead, saltpetre, leather, train-oil, tallow, candles\*, soap, malt liquors, butter, beef, pork, and potatoes, should constitute a part of the annual imports from Europe to America?

To those whom early prejudices have taught to consider commerce as a bane, let me address a few words. The establishment of our independence calls upon us to act with the provident circumspection and foresight of a nation laying the foundation of its future character. Our views should be extended far beyond those narrow limits, which were rigidly prescribed to us while dependent colonies. The only means by which nations can rise into consequence, are, by their arms, or by their commerce. The genius, constitution, and situation of America preclude every idea of the former, while they naturally prompt her to resort to the latter: so long, therefore, as the dominion of the sea shall be worth contesting, commerce will be found to

## NOTE.

\* I have seen candles imported into America from Russia, since the peace!

be the only road, by which America can arrive at opulence and power.

COLUMBUS.

## POSTSCRIPT.

THE preceding observations (with a few exceptions only) having been committed to paper above eighteen months ago, it is hoped that a short postscript may be excused.

The reader has been informed that these reflexions were first excited by the order of the British council, mentioned page 267—an extract from a British pamphlet printed in the same paper† confirmed the alarm which

## NOTE.

† “The lumber of these colonies,” says the author, viz. Canada and Nova Scotia, “is the best in America. Some little time may be necessary, before a full supply of all the articles they can produce, will be obtained; but it will be better for this country to allow a bounty on lumber, conveyed in British vessels from Canada and Nova Scotia to the West Indies, for a limited time, than to sacrifice our carrying trade; also a bounty on building ships in Canada and Nova Scotia, to be employed in the fishery or carrying trade to the West Indies; also a small bounty, for a limited time, on making wheat into flour in Canada, to encourage mills there, and to supply the fisheries with bread and biscuit.

“Under the article of corn, it has appeared how amply Canada can supply our islands. It appears also, that no part of the world furnishes greater advantages for ship building. The oak of Canada is heavier and much more lasting than that of New England. In short, it is unquestionably a fact, that Nova Scotia and Canada will soon become capable, with a little encouragement, of supplying

this order of council had excited in the breast of the author.

NOTE.

our islands with all the shipping, fish, timber and lumber of every kind, and with mill or draught horses, with flour, and several other articles they may want; and Bermuda shipping may supply the islands with such articles as will be wanted from the southern states, viz. Indian corn, rice, and the little tobacco that may be necessary in addition to what is grown in the West Indies, for the negroes." Farther on he says,

"It appears from what has been stated, that there will be no difficulty with respect to lumber and provisions, except in the beginning, and that may be obviated. British shipping must go from our islands and colonies to the American states, and cannot be refused admittance on the same footing as in other foreign countries. We should not admit into our ports, in Britain, the produce of one of the American states in the shipping of another, unless they allow the shipping of Canada and Nova Scotia also to carry the produce of the states. If they should refuse it, they will lose the market of our islands, of which they might always have a share through our shipping. But no mandate of congress will prevent those of the states, whose interest it is, from supplying us with any article we want.

"In competition with the American states, Canada and Nova Scotia will have many exclusive advantages. We must reserve to our remaining colonies those to which they are entitled. The inhabitants of Nantucket, and the fishing coast, will migrate to Nova Scotia, for the sake of the superior advantage of our fisheries, and from other parts of the American states for different advantages, which British subjects should exclusively have; but if we do not

Since that time he hath with the utmost mortification observed, that his apprehensions were but too justly founded. He has also had frequent occasion to remark from the English prints, that, that nation makes no secret of her intentions to crush the commerce and navigation of America. Merchants of the most extensive credit and solid capitals, have, since that time, been obliged to sell their ships for want of freight, while British vessels have filled every port in America, and departed laden with her produce, to vend in any part of the globe they think proper. British refugees have returned in

NOTE.

reserve those advantages to our colonies, not content with the irreparable and for ever debasing sacrifice of the loyalists and their property to the rebels, we continue to hold out a premium for rebellion. But if our remaining colonies are put on a proper footing, nothing can be more destructive to their interest than a separation from us by revolt or conquest.

"It will not be an easy matter to bring the American states to act as a nation; they are not to be feared as such by us. Their climate, their staples, their manners are different, their interests opposite, and that, which is beneficial to one, is destructive to the other. In short, every circumstance proves, that it will be extreme folly to enter into any engagements, by which we may not wish to be bound hereafter. It is impossible to name any material advantage the American states will or can give us in return, more than what we of course shall have. No treaty can be made with the American states that can be binding on the whole of them. No treaty that could be made, would suit their different interests; when treaties are necessary, they must be made with the states separately."

swarms; and, strange to tell, have been permitted to continue peaceably among the very people whom they had injured and insulted, beyond the term stipulated by the treaty of peace. British factors are spread over the whole face of the country, engrossing and forestalling the staple commodities thereof, to the great prejudice of the planter, as well as of the fair trader. The former is injured, without knowing it at the time—the latter feels the stroke immediately. These evils have not been confined to any particular state; they have been felt throughout, and heavily complained of in many. The commercial states of the north and eastern parts of the continent, have first felt the blow, which is aimed at the whole, and which the whole will severely feel unless the whole unite to ward it off. Have we not seen every overture, on the part of America, to form a commercial treaty with Britain, treated with contempt? Has not the prime minister of that nation declared in parliament, that he saw no reason for entering into any commercial treaty with America, since Britain could obtain nothing by such a treaty, which she would not acquire from the very nature of things alone? Has not the same minister declared, that Britain could not possibly gain any thing, but might lose by a treaty with America. Surely these things are not hard to be understood: for it is a fundamental principle, in such treaties, that there shall be mutual advantages secured to both nations. The British minister has found, that he already possesses every advantage for which he could wish to stipulate. Let us beware, then, of a treaty that may not only abridge us of what we have already, but may restrain us from future encroachments! this is the true interpretation of such language and conduct on the part of Britain.

I trust it is now evident to every

person of reflexion, that America stands in so critical a predicament at the present moment, that nothing but that wisdom and unanimity of council, and energy of execution, which saved her from the fierce attacks of Britain, can now secure her from the effects of those engines which she is secretly exercising for her destruction. This can only be effected by granting to the united states in congress, the powers necessary for this end; for no partial engagements, by the individual states, can possibly answer the purpose fully: yet it is not impossible that some salutary regulations, which might in the mean time be adopted in the several states, would, in some measure, check, though they might be insufficient to remedy the evil.

Virginia, July 16, 1785.



*The constitution framed for the united states of America, by a convention of deputies from the states of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, at a session begun May 14, and ended September 17, 1787.*

WE, the people of the united states, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the united states of America.

## ARTICLE I.

### SECTION I.

ALL legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the united states, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.



## SECTION II.

1. The house of representatives shall consist of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states: and the electors, in each state, shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative, who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the united states; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives, and direct taxes, shall be apportioned among the several states, which may be included in this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the united states, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand: but each state shall have at least one representative: and, until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts eight; Rhode-Island and Providence plantations one; Connecticut five; New York six; New Jersey four; Pennsylvania eight; Delaware one; Maryland six; Virginia ten; North Carolina five; South Carolina five; and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other

officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

## SECTION III.

1. The senate of the united states shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years: and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; and of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year: so that one third may be chosen every second year. And if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the united states; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The vice-president of the united states shall be president of the senate: but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the united states.

4. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the united states is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted, without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

5. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the united states. But the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

## SECTION IV.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may, at any time, by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

## SECTION V.

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business: but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings; punish its members for disorderly behaviour; and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and, from time to time, publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy: and the yeas and nays, of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for

more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

## SECTION VI.

1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the united states. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to, and returning from the same: and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office, under the authority of the united states, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased, during such time: and no person, holding any office under the united states, shall be a member of either house, during his continuance in office.

## SECTION VII.

1. All bills, for raising revenue, shall originate in the house of representatives: but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill, which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the united states. If he approve, he shall sign it: but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered: and, if approved by two-

thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the president of the united states; and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of both houses, according to the rules, and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

## SECTION VIII.

The congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence, and general welfare, of the united states: but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the united states.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the united states.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the united states.

5. To coin money; regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin; and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities

and current coin of the united states.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors, and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

11. To declare war; grant letters of marque and reprisal; and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies. But no appropriation of money to that use, shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the united states: reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square), as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the united states; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of

forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings: and

13. To make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the united states, or in any department or officer thereof.

#### SECTION IX.

1. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight: but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the united states:—And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of

any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state.

#### SECTION X.

1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the united states; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

### ARTICLE II.

#### SECTION I.

1. The executive power shall be vested in the president of the united states of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress. But no senator, or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit, under the united states, shall be appointed an elector.



3. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the united states, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president: and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person, having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more, who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.

4. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the united states.

5. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the uni-

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ted states, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president. Neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the united states.

6. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and the congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

7. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the united states, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm)  
"that I will faithfully execute the  
"office of president of the united  
"states; and will, to the best of my  
"ability, preserve, protect, and de-  
"fend the constitution of the united  
"states."

#### SECTION II.

1. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the united states, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the united states. He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officers in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices: and he shall have power to

K

grant reprieves and pardons, for offences against the united states, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur: and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the united states, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen, during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

#### SECTION III.

He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information of the state of the union; and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them: and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the united states.

#### SECTION IV.

The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the united states, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

### ARTICLE III.

#### SECTION I.

The judicial power of the united states shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts, as the congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

#### SECTION II.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the united states, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies, to which the united states shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state, claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases, affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury: and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed: but when not committed within any state, the

trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

## SECTION III.

1. Treason against the united states shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

## ARTICLE IV.

## SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given, in each state, to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

## SECTION II.

1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person, held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

## SECTION III.

1. New states may be admitted by

the congress into this union: but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state—nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states—without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

2. The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the territory or other property belonging to the united states; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the united states, or of any particular state.

## SECTION IV.

The united states shall guarantee to every state in this union, a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

## ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

## ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engage-

ments entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the united states, under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the united states which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the united states, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges, in every state, shall be bound hereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives beforementioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the united states and of the several states, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the united states.

## ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the united states of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, pres.  
and deputy from Virginia.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

*John Langdon,*  
*Nicholas Gilman,*

### MASSACHUSETTS.

*Nathaniel Gorham,*  
*Rufus King.*

### CONNECTICUT.

*William Samuel Johnson,*  
*Roger Sherman.*

### NEW YORK.

*Alexander Hamilton.*

### NEW JERSEY.

*William Livingston,*  
*David Brearly,*  
*William Paterson,*  
*Jonathan Dayton.*

### PENNSYLVANIA.

*Benjamin Franklin,*  
*Thomas Mifflin,*  
*Robert Morris,*  
*George Clymer,*  
*Thomas Fitzsimons,*  
*Jared Ingersoll,*  
*James Wilson,*  
*Gouverneur Morris.*

### DELAWARE.

*George Reed,*  
*Gunning Bedford, junior,*  
*John Dickinson,*  
*Richard Bassett,*  
*Jacob Broom.*

### MARYLAND.

*James M'Henry,*  
*Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer,*  
*Daniel Carroll.*

### VIRGINIA.

*John Blair.*  
*James Madison, junior.*

### NORTH CAROLINA.

*William Blount,*  
*Richard Dobbs Spaight,*  
*Hugh Williamson.*

### SOUTH CAROLINA.

*John Rutledge,*  
*Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,*  
*Charles Pinckney,*  
*Pierce Butler.*

### GEORGIA.

*William Few,*  
*Abraham Baldwin,*

Attest, *William Jackson, sec'y.*



In convention, Monday, September 17th, 1787.

P R E S E N T,

The states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia :

Resolved,

**T**HAT the preceding constitution be laid before the united states in congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the united states in congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this constitution, the united states in congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this constitution. That after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected. That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the constitution requires, to the secretary of the united states in congress assembled. That the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned. That the senators should appoint a president of the senate for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for president; and that after he shall

be chosen, the congress, together with the president, should, without delay, proceed to execute this constitution,

*By the unanimous order of the convention,*

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Pres.

William Jackson, Secretary.

In convention, September 17, 1787.

SIR,

**W**E have now the honour to submit to the consideration of the united states in congress assembled, that constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money, and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident. Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states, as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest

interest of every true American, the **CONSOLIDATION OF OUR UNION**, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our **NATIONAL EXISTENCE**. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention, to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected: and thus the constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our **POLITICAL SITUATION** rendered **INDISPENSIBLE**.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state, is not, perhaps, to be expected; but each will, doubtless, consider, that had her interells been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions, as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe. That it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.—With great respect, we have the honour to be, sir,

your excellency's most obedient

and humble servants,

**GEORGE WASHINGTON,**  
President.

By unanimous assent of the convention,

His excellency the president of congress.



*Resolution of congress recommending the appointment of state conventions, to consider the preceding constitution.*

The united states in congress assembled, Friday, Sept. 28, 1787.

Present New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina,

South Carolina, and Georgia, and from Maryland mr. Ross.

**C**ONGRESS having received the report of the convention lately assembled in Philadelphia.

Resolved unanimously, that the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention, made and provided in that case.

**CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.**



*Resolutions of the assembly of Pennsylvania, fixing the time and order of electing delegates to convention.*

State of Pennsylvania.

In general assembly, Saturday, September 29, 1787, A. M.

**W**HEREAS, the convention of deputies, from the several states composing the union, lately held in this city, have published a constitution for the future government of the united states, to be submitted to conventions of deputies chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification: and whereas, congress, on Friday, the 28th instant, did unanimously resolve, that the said constitution be transmitted to the several legislatures of the states, to the intent aforesaid: and whereas, it is the sense of great numbers of the good people of this state, already signified in petitions and declarations to this house, that the earliest steps should be taken to assemble a convention within the state, for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the said constitution.

Resolved, that it be recommended to such of the inhabitants of the state, as are entitled to vote for re-

representatives to the general assembly, that they choose suitable persons, to serve as deputies in a state convention, for the purpose herein before mentioned: that is, for the city of Philadelphia, and the counties respectively, the same number of deputies, that each is entitled to, of representatives in the general assembly.

Resolved, that the elections for deputies, as aforesaid, be held at the several places, in the said city and counties, as are fixed by law for holding the elections of representatives to the general assembly; and that the same be conducted by the officers who conduct the said elections of representatives, and agreeably to the rules thereof.

Resolved, that the election of deputies, as aforesaid, shall be held for the city of Philadelphia, and the several counties of this state, on the first Tuesday of November next.

Resolved, that the persons so elected to serve in convention, shall assemble on the third Tuesday of November, at the state-house, in the city of Philadelphia.

Resolved, that the proposition, submitted to this house, by the deputies of Pennsylvania, in the general convention of the states, of ceding to the united states a district of country, within this state, for the seat of the general government, and for the exclusive legislation of congress, be particularly recommended to the consideration of the convention.

Resolved, that it be recommended to the succeeding house of assembly, to make the same allowance to the attending members of the convention, as is made to the members of the general assembly; and also to provide for the extraordinary expenses which may be incurred by holding the said elections.

Extract from the proceedings of the house.

PETER Z. LLOYD, Clk.

On the necessity of unanimity in America.

Mr. PRINTER,

IN searching among some old papers, a few days ago, I accidentally found a London newspaper, dated in March, 1774, wherein a certain dean Tucker, after stating several advantages attendant on a separation from the then colonies, now united states of North-America, proceeds thus—"After a separation from the colonies, our influence over them will be much greater than ever it was, since they began to feel their own weight and importance."—"The moment a separation takes effect, *restless quarrels will begin*."—"And in proportion as their seditious republican spirit shall intrigue and cabal, shall split into parties, divide and subdivide—in the same proportion, shall we be called in, to become their *general umpires and referees*."

I stood aghast on perusing this *British prophecy*, and could not help reflecting, how my infatuated countrymen are on the very verge of suffering it to be fulfilled—Already have they, in several of the states, spurned at the federal government, defied their admonitions, and absolutely refused to comply with their requisitions: nay they have gone further, and have enacted laws in direct violation of those very requisitions; nor does the present federal constitution give congress power to enforce a compliance with the most trifling measure they may recommend. Hence liberty becomes licentiousness (for while causes continue to produce their effects, want of energy in government, will be followed by disobedience in the governed.) Hence also, credit, whether foreign or domestic, public or private, hath been abused, and of course is reduced to the lowest ebb. Rhode-Island faith in particular, is become superlatively infamous, even to a pro-

verb. Would to God that the censure in this respect, were only due to that petty state! Sorry I am to say, several others merit a considerable share of it—Ship-building and commerce no more enrich our country—agriculture is neglected, or, what is just the same, our produce, instead of being exported, is suffered to rot in the fields. Britain has dared to retain our frontier posts, whereby she not only deprives us of the fur-trade, but is enabled to keep up a number of troops, to take every advantage of any civil broils which may arise in these states; and, to close the dismal scene, rebellion, with all its dire concomitants, has actually reared its head in a sister state—Such have been the deplorable effects of a weak and impotent government. Perhaps the present situation of America cannot be better described than by comparing her to a ship at sea, in a storm, when the mariners tie up the helm, and abandon her to the fury of the winds and waves. O America! arouse! awake from your lethargy! bravely assert the cause of federal unanimity! and save your sinking country! Let it not be said, that those men, who heroically extirpated tyranny from America, should suffer civil discord to undo all that they have achieved; or to effect more than all the powers of Britain, aided by her blood-thirsty mercenaries, were able to accomplish. Let not posterity say—"Alas! our fathers expended much blood and treasure in erecting the temple of liberty; and when nothing more was wanting but thirteen pillars to support the stately edifice, they supinely neglected this essential part; so has the whole become one mighty heap of ruins, and slavery is entailed on their unhappy offspring." God forbid, that this should ever be the case!

Do any of my fellow citizens ask, how may we avert the impending danger? The answer is obvious—Let us adopt that federal constitution,

which has been earnestly recommended by a convention of patriotic sages, and which, while it gives energy to our government, wisely secures our liberties. This constitution, my friends, is the result of four months deliberation, in an assembly composed of men, whose known integrity, patriotism and abilities justly deserve our confidence. Let us also consider, that the illustrious WASHINGTON was their president. And shall we, my fellow-citizens, render all their measures ineffectual, by withholding our concurrence? The preservation of ourselves and of our country forbids it. Methinks I hear every hill from St. Croix to the Mississippi re-echo the praises of this simple, but excellent constitution.

Having once adopted this truly federal form of government, dean Tucker, and all the divines of England, may prophecy our downfall if they will; we shall not regard them. Then shall commerce re-visit our shores; then shall we take a distinguished rank among the nations of the earth; then shall our husbandmen and mechanics of every denomination, enjoy the fruits of their industry; and then, and not till then, shall we be completely happy.

A PENNSYLVANIA FARMER  
Bucks county, September 22, 1787.

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*On the situation of the British West India islands.*

Mr. Printer,

AS the commerce of America, is an object which ought to claim the particular attention of the several legislatures throughout the united states, I send you the following extracts from a new publication, addressed to the British ministry, and which has been received by the people of England, with general approbation. The subject, I doubt not, will be considered, as interesting to the public. The importance of the

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American supplies, to the West Indies, is therein fully represented; and, notwithstanding the arrogance assumed by the nation, in their prohibitions, it still remains in the power of this country (provided our measures are adopted with UNANIMITY, and adhered to with PERSEVERANCE) to establish the commerce of America, upon the most extensive and permanent basis. The extracts are as follow, viz.

"The internal resources of Britain are insufficient for the increased demands of government: it has at length become *dependent* upon external resources for its commerce.

"The nearness of situation enabled the American merchant to make two, and often three voyages to the West-Indies, in a year; so that from America, the islands received regular and plentiful supplies, upon the easiest terms; for which the Americans took rum, sugar, &c. in payment: the planters, thus supplied with cattle, horses, provisions, and lumber, were enabled to adopt the plan of management most advantageous to themselves and to Great Britain. Much of that land, which otherwise would have been applied to the cultivation of provisions for the maintenance of negroes and raising cattle for draft, was appropriated by them, to the cultivation of the sugar-cane. In consequence thereof, the quantum of rum and sugar, the most profitable articles of their produce, had greatly increased, and the *revenue proportionably augmented*. Official accounts, delivered at the bar of the house of commons, prove, that from the year 1762 to 1773, the import of sugar only to England, rose from one hundred and thirty thousand, to one hundred and seventy thousand hogheads; which increase of forty thousand hogheads, was valued at eight hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum.—And by the late additional duties on those articles,

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would produce an annual increase to the revenue, of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling: but, unfortunately for Britain, the system adopted by the late ministry, has deprived the nation of this great commercial benefit.

"The increase in the import of sugar to England, in eleven years, ending in 1773, was 40,000 hogheads; and the decrease in the course of ten years, from 1773 to 1783, appears by the custom-house books, to be upwards of 60,000 hogheads.

The proclamation now in force, obliges British subjects to become owners of the vessels employed in the West India trade. Sloops and schooners may, indeed, be built in England, suited to the West India trade; but, for good reasons, which might be assigned, the planters are not likely to engage in that branch of commerce; and British merchants will be induced to embark in it only by the hopes of *great profits, from high freight*. Nothing, therefore, can be more clear, than that the vast difference in the price of materials for building in England and America, with the difference of subsequent charges of repairs, wages, maintenance of seamen, and the high freight, must be all laid on the price of supplies. The consequences, therefore, apprehended, are that the West-India supplies will be scanty and irregular, and quite precarious; and even if it should happen, that their supplies were regular, yet the price of every article imported for the use of the plantations, would be raised so much above its proportion to the value of sugar and rum, at any foreign market, as to prove in a few years ruinous to the islands.

"In the present distressed situation of the islands, the planter cannot *let* his lands; for if he devotes them to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, he must establish the manufacture of sugar and rum; and for the establish-

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ment of this manufacture, a numerous body of working people, costly buildings, with an infinite variety of expensive materials, are required. But if the planter is obliged to reduce his crop of cane, in the degree that may be necessary for the production of provisions, in quantities sufficient for the maintenance of his plantations, the produce of his lands, for foreign markets, will not be sufficient for his maintenance. If on the contrary, he should sacrifice provisions to the growth of the sugar-cane, he then becomes subject to the impositions and exorbitant demands of those British merchants, who have engaged in the trade. It is the highest madness and ignorance, to suppose that Canada and Nova Scotia are equal to the demands of the islands."

As a specimen of the annual supplies, the following account is taken from the custom-house books.

"The exports from America to the West India islands:

1771.	
Lumber,	21,271,995 feet.
Shingles,	16,483,543 No.
Staves,	15,546,113 No.
Corn,	418,307 bushels.
Pease,	20,140 ditto.
Bread & flour,	140,198 barrels.
Oats,	9,680 bushels.
Oil,	2,342 barrels.
Tar,	4,864 ditto.
Horses,	2,170
Shaken hogf- heads and water-casks }	16,264
Rice,	24,780 barrels.
Beef and pork,	13,511 ditto.
Fish,	16,144 hhds.
	15,143 barrels.
9,240 quintals.	

1772.	
Lumber,	27,128,507 feet.
Shingles,	26,936,188 No.
Staves,	21,160,347 No.
Corn,	865,300 bushels.
Pease,	20,804 ditto.

Bread & flour,	131,341 barrels.
Oats,	6,136 bushels.
Oil,	960 barrels.
Tar,	7,760 ditto.
Horses,	2,220
Shaken hogf- heads and water-casks }	17,211
Rice,	13,123 barrels.
Beef and pork,	12,575 ditto.
Fish,	21,185 hhds.
	17,740 barrels.
16,940 quintals.	

1773.	
Lumber,	28,591,233 feet.
Shingles,	23,351,465 No.
Staves,	21,219,504 No.
Corn,	220,806 bushels.
Pease,	26,779 ditto.
Bread & flour,	128,506 barrels.
Oats,	7,407 bushels.
Oil,	1,807 barrels.
Tar,	4,407 barrels.
Horses,	2,798
Shaken hogf- heads and water-cask }	20,563
Rice,	23,567 barrels.
Beef and pork,	18,890 ditto.
Fish,	16,771 hhds.
	15,780 barrels.
16,028 quintals.	

"From the foregoing may be seen the vast and annual supplies of provisions, live stock, and lumber, formerly furnished by America, to the West Indies; and from hence some judgment may be formed, in what degree the production of sugar may be affected, when the planters shall be obliged to apply their lands and labour to the production of an equivalent quantity. The loss also to the national revenue is alarming, it being certain, that the diminution, in the production of sugar, is a proportionate loss to the revenue.

"How much the revenue has suffered by the diminution of the article of rum, will appear from the fol-

Following official account of the net duties and excise received on rum, imported into England, from the 5th of July, 1774, to the 5th of July, 1783, viz.

1774,	£. 316,411
1775,	291,153
1776,	314,243
1777,	346,600
1778,	320,918
1779,	321,576
1780,	301,539
1781,	230,379
1782,	223,361
1783,	237,807

*Reflections on the policy of Britain with regard to America.*

IN the year 1784, lord Sheffield wrote a book, entitled, *Observations on the commerce of the united states*. The great esteem the British nation had for the work, made it necessary to print a second edition. In this laborious work, which proves his lordship to have a good head, and a bad heart, he has formed a plan more injurious to these states, than the stamp-act, or the impolitic war his countrymen lately carried on against us: and nothing, but our uniting as brethren, concerned in one common cause, and making the most vigorous exertions, can save us from destruction. His lordship advises the prohibiting our dealing with the British colonies in our own bottoms. He says, no nation in Europe will suffer any other nation to deal with their colonies: at the same time, he advises that the British colonies should be permitted to trade with us in British bottoms, navigated by British seamen. The whole book, which ought to be read by every American, points out the utility and necessity of depriving us of carrying the produce of the united states in American ships, to their markets; and blames the king's

proclamation, for permitting us to land goods in Great Britain, without paying larger duties than the same goods pay, when brought in British ships. He endeavour to show, that it is in the power of the British fully to engross the whole trade of these states; and has formed such plans, as, if carried into effect, will make us ten times more the slave of Britain, than we were before the war. He says, we must blame our rebellion for our destruction. He points out the facility of engrossing our whole trade; and, by giving us very short credit, of obliging us to take such prices for our country produce, as the British merchants please to give us. In a word, if his plans are followed, we shall see the British merchants meet here annually, and fix the price of rice, indigo, tobacco, &c. as they used to do at Williamsburgh, to fix the price of tobacco. He says in his notes, page 321, "It is said the mode of doing business likely to prevail, particularly in the southern provinces, will be, what is denominated a wholesale trade, to be carried on by European, or rather British merchants, who will form connexions at home, and carry out cargoes of assorted goods, to be sold by the package, unopened, to those who retail, and who will receive, in return, within the year, from the American merchants, the produce they may collect, which will be shipped off by the British wholesale merchant. This is the species of trade that the British subjects should wish to pursue. Without being concerned in retailing goods, they should endeavour to MONOPOLIZE the supplies in wholesale to country merchants. This will enable them to deal to a great extent, with half the hazard formerly experienced: and it will, besides, give them the sole command of the shipping business. It is not probable, that the British merchants will choose, in the new

state of affairs, to fix their stores, as formerly, in Virginia, and Maryland. They may rather adopt the expedient already mentioned, of sending out agents and partners, with wholesale cargoes, to be sold to merchants, who may not have credit here, and yet may be very safe, while their creditors are on the spot, ready to compel punctuality, and to receive and ship their produce. This line of commerce, although the profits may at first be smaller, will ultimately be more advantageous to the British merchants:" (that is, when they have fully monopolized the trade, and have it in their power to fix the price of imports and exports for the American merchants and planters): "large sums will not, as formerly, be sunk in debts in the country. The returns will be more certain, and less liable to those disappointments, which prevailed when every American planter was a British debtor." His lordship seems to despise any associations or combinations we may enter into. He seems to consider us as a rope of sand: but perhaps places too much confidence in the British emissaries or pensioners, who, he knows, reside among us, who have been steady friends to the British during the war, and have been politic enough to remain here, with orders to use their utmost endeavours to disunite us.

On an average of ten years before the war, while the British monopolized our trade, rice did not bring above seven shillings per hundred. When peace and independence took place, it rose to fifteen or sixteen. Now it is at twelve: and it must appear plain as the sun that shines at noon-day, that if we suffer them again to renew their monopoly, rice will fall to the old price: what, then, will become of our planters, who have given seventy-five pounds for negroes? To lessen the consumption of rice, the British have

laid a duty of seven shillings per hundred on it.

But perhaps it may be objected, that, if we exclude the British ships from our ports, the crop must lie on hand. This must be said only to those who do not know any thing of our trade. The last year, nearly half the rice shipped from this state, was shipped in American, and what the British call foreign bottoms. Philadelphia, New York, and New England, could and would carry all our produce to market, at the prices that are now given. The Hollanders would be glad to enter into a contract to carry the whole, were it ten times as much, at a lower price. Perhaps the French would do the same. Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and all the mercantile nations of Europe, would be glad to be our carriers, and bring the manufactures and produce of their countries to our markets, if we gave them an opportunity of doing it. But nothing raised or made in any other country, that has not been first sent to Britain, is saleable. Our Madeira wine must be London particular, although they do nothing with it, but mix and adulterate it: yet we drink a composition of poisonous ingredients, rather than the neat produce of the island. England has supplied us with all our wines, although it is well known she makes none. Oil, lemons, almonds, and raisins, have been imported into America from England, although we know they are not the produce of that island. One half of the dry goods sent from Britain, are not the manufacture of that country, but imported from the East Indies, and different parts of Europe: yet many persons think they cannot be good, unless they come from England. Ask a man why he prefers the English goods to those that come cheaper from other countries; he answers, because they are the best in the world,



and he chooses to have the best, cost what they will. Ask him, why he does not then prefer the American hats, joiners' furniture, &c. He will allow they are better, but they come a little higher, and the English will serve his turn: and so they will, only because they are English. Such is the American infatuation for goods sent from England. Time only will wear off the prejudice. I hope yet to live to see British cruelties and British manufactures equally despised by every

AMERICAN.

Charleston, S. C. 1786.

*Directions for raising hemp, by Loami Baldwin Esq. Published by the agricultural committee of Boston.*

**T**HE soil should be a warm light loam, composed of a pure mould and a little sand, manured much in the same proportion as for Indian corn; some compost manure is to be preferred, which has not any foul seeds among it; (weeds are very prejudicial to a crop of hemp) better if the manure is applied, and ploughed in, just before winter.

The land should have three ploughings, at least, in the spring, and be made very fine. The seed should be sowed on a well-harrowed surface, early in May, if the season is dry and favourable; but if not, the sowing may be deferred a week or fortnight. — In that case, another ploughing will be necessary, observing always, that the seed should be sowed soon after the last ploughing is performed, before the land settles, and becomes stiff and heavy; then harrow it in with a fine iron-tooth harrow.

The quantity of seed (if new) may vary from two bushels and a quarter to three bushels per acre. If, through necessity, old seed is to be sowed, the quantity must be greater; and it should be deposited in a cellar, two, three, or four weeks previous to sowing. The time ought to be something in proportion to the age of the

seed. The older it is, the longer it should lie in the cellar, not exceeding three or four weeks; (but old seed seldom answers well.) The land should be sowed twice over, the sower passing it in cross-wise directions, the better to scatter the seed equally on the ground.

Some of the Sudbury people, who have practised the growing of hemp for a series of years, hold, that to crop the land every year, successively, with hemp, is better than to shift or vary the crop. This seems to be against the general principle in cropping land. However, by a little attention, the fact may be ascertained.

The time for pulling, is, when the female or male hemp turns whitish, before it turns blackish, just at the time when the farina escapes (this is known by its smoking when agitated by the wind, or any other cause) which commonly happens about the first of August.

There are two kinds of hemp, male and female; the female bears the seed: therefore some of the best plants should be reserved in the borders of the field, or other places, in order to produce seed for the next year; and the rest is to be pulled up by the roots; and as it is pulled, lay it about an inch thick on the ground where it grew, or if thinner, the better; and what that land will not receive, must be carried off to other ground, and there spread in the same manner, taking care to turn it once or twice: and in two or three days, if the weather is good, it will be fit to bind into bundles of about twelve or fifteen inches girth, in order to be housed; and the sooner it is dried, and got into the barn, the better. If the quantity be small, and can be placed under cover immediately upon pulling, so as to dry well without receiving any wet, it will be heavier, and of a brighter greenish colour when dressed, better resembling foreign hemp. In short, the attentive

cultivator of this useful article neglects all other affairs to take care of his hemp at this stage of the business, if exposed when a shower or storm threatens, and to get it secured under shelter, where it remains until about Indian harvest time, when it is taken out and removed to a proper place, for water rotting: this should be a pond, where the water can be drawn off and flowed again at pleasure.— There bed it in circular heaps, with the top ends inward, taping about two thirds of the length of the stalk: add some weight to keep it from swimming; then raise the water high enough to cover it. There it may continue about three weeks, longer or shorter, according to the state of the weather, hotter or colder. When rotted enough, take it up, washing it at the same time, and remove it to dry ground, and set it with the but ends downward, leaning against poles, arranged for the purpose, on crotches about three feet high, placing a bundle on one side of the pole, and another on the other side, alternately, until the whole is set up; or it may be set against a rail fence, in the same manner, running the top ends of the hemp through, between the upper and second rail, which will secure it from being blown down by the winds. There it is to remain, exposed to the action of all the varieties of the weather, until the spring following. Some attention should be paid to the situation of the ground, where it is thus to be placed, in order to have the hemp dry for dressing as early in the spring as possible. It would be well to invert the bundles, or place them horizontally on poles, disposed for that purpose, time enough for the but ends (which have stood on the ground all winter) to get thoroughly dry, previous to the dressing, or a great loss will take place; for if it be wet, the coat or hurl on the but ends of the stalk, for seven or eight inches, (being the heaviest

part in proportion to its length) will go to waste in the operation of the brake. It should first be broken in a very coarse brake, the floats or teeth of which should be three inches and an half, or four inches asunder; then in a common flax brake.

The swingling is performed much in the same manner as flax, only applying a more driving, but not a harder stroke, continuing the knife down nearly to the end of the hemp, seeking it as much as possible with the knife.

A man will dress about thirty or forty pounds a day, according to the rot it gets, and its dryness and the dryness of the weather at the time of dressing. This is very essential.—I have been informed that Mr. Elihu Ree, of Sudbury, has broke and swingled ninety-five pounds of hemp, in one day.

The common produce of hemp, on an acre of Sudbury land, varies from nine to twelve hundred weight.

I would recommend to the common farmers, in general, to raise half an acre, or an acre of hemp, annually; but not to go so largely into the business as to force them to neglect the other necessary affairs of their farms, or hire many labourers.

Lying under disadvantages for attempting more than can be accomplished with convenience, will increase expense, consequently lessen the profit, and thereby discourage the work.

L. B.

#### *Directions for raising and managing Sheep.*

**S**HEEP are very profitable animals; they produce both meat and clothing; and it is a pity so little pains is taken to raise them. If a plenty of wool was raised here, our woollens might be manufactured among ourselves, and vast quantities of money prevented from being sent out of the country. The same

may be said of silk and flax—our climate will admit of the cultivation of both. I have seen a garment made of excellent silk, that was raised and manufactured no farther to the southward than the state of New-York. If a sufficient quantity of silk, wool, and flax, were raised in the united states, thousands of poor people that are out of employ, might be set to work, and our clothing made on this side the Atlantic.

As to the raising and managing of sheep, the methods are various:—Some keep them in large flocks, under the direction of shepherds—others keep them in small companies, without a shepherd: the last method generally produces the largest and fattest sheep. It has been observed, that they do best upon high land, because the feed is the sweetest. They should be often removed from one pasture to another; and should not live upon a farm, more than three years, without being removed to some distant place. If they live too long upon a farm, they will depreciate, and be exceedingly small. They ought to be housed under an open shed, in wet weather: but they should not be kept in a warm place at any time, unless they have been newly sheared, or have newly lambed.—If they are kept too warm, or too poor, they will shed their wool before shearing time. The best time for shearing, is in the latter end of May; but before they are sheared, they ought to be washed in a warm day. Great care ought to be taken, to prevent their eating vegetable poison, and being devoured by wild beasts, hungry dogs, and other greedy animals. When a sheep is poisoned, a glass of rum, or half a pint of urine, ought to be thrown down its throat, to make it vomit.

A ram ought not to come near the sheep, until the latter end of November, or beginning of December, that the lambs may not come until the winter is over, which may prevent

their dying with the cold. A gill of Indian corn, given to a sheep in a day, for a few days before and after the lambs, is said to be of great service, as it is very strengthening.

When sheep first go to grass, they ought to have salt every day: but if they have it once in three days afterwards, it will answer. People are too apt to injure their flocks of sheep, by selling off the best of their lambs to the butchers.

In an extremely hot country, sheep will not thrive, neither will they where the cold is severe. The heat has such a strange effect upon the sheep, in the West-Indies, that hair, like that of a goat, grows upon them, instead of wool. In Great-Britain, they have two sorts of sheep; one produces exceeding fine wool, which is the staple commodity of that kingdom. Sheep among us, thrive exceeding well, and if proper care should be taken, we may undoubtedly raise wool enough for our own use.

#### AGRICOLANUS

*Reflections on the utility of discountenancing the use of spirituous liquors—Addressed to the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, and published by them.*

Gentlemen,

WHILE you are laudably engaged in promoting every improvement in agriculture, you may, perhaps, esteem any hint to preserve the health of the farmer, not unworthy your notice and patronage.

The destructive effects of spirituous liquors, in the united states, have been long observed and complained of, by the friends of America. Unhappily, our citizens, in general, are not in a situation to examine this subject with attention and impartiality. The custom of drinking these poisons having been introduced, at a

early period, into America, is regarded with that blind prepossession, which is too often acquired in favour of ancient usages. The certain destruction of the morals, the property, and the lives of our fellow citizens, by the excessive use of rum, is overlooked: and every reformation is considered as a measure totally impossible, particularly among that class of citizens, whom you wish to encourage and support. Influenced by this universal opinion, during the first years of conducting my farm, I gave my men a dram in the morning; and, during harvest, allowed each man one pint of rum per day.

Observing the ill consequences of this practice, and considering it as inconsistent with humanity, and contrary to the true interest of my poor neighbours, I ventured, this year, upon a new experiment; and, amidst the general prejudices of the country, have conducted a farm of above two hundred acres under cultivation, without the use of spiritous liquors of any kind. As a substitute, I have given small malt beer, made in the family: and it is with particular pleasure, that I can inform your useful society, that this experiment has been attended with a success beyond my most sanguine expectation. I have just finished a very extensive harvest, without any accident, drunkenness, or disorder, and with an alacrity and neatness, which I never before experienced.

Our own interest, as farmers, should engage us to banish the rum-bottle from our plantations: our situations, as members of society, should oblige us to banish it from the state.

No American can regard the baneful effects of this poison on his distressed country, without experiencing an anxiety to remove it: but this cannot be accomplished without the steady perseverance of every individual of influence and reputation.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,  
your real friend, G. LOGAN.

Stenton, August 11, 1787.



#### On agriculture.

YE Pennsylvanians, venerate the  
plough!  
Nor ye, tho' num'rous, who so idly  
live,  
In luxury and ease—in pomp and pride  
Think these low themes unworthy of  
your ear.  
Such themes as these the rural Maro  
sung  
To wide-imperial Rome, in the full  
height  
Of elegance and taste, by Greece re-  
fin'd.  
In ancient times the sacred plough em-  
ploy'd  
The kings and awful fathers of man-  
kind,  
And some, with whom compar'd, your  
inferior tribes  
Are but the beings of a summer's day,  
Have held the scale of empire, rul'd  
the storm  
Of mighty war; then, with unweari-  
ed hand,  
Disdaining little delicacies, seiz'd  
The plough, and greatly independent  
liv'd.

Thomson's Seasons altered.

SINCE the conclusion of the late war, there has been a strange inattention, among the people of this state, to their true interests. Manufacturing has been neglected; the weavers are either idle, or driven to seek for other employment, which they were not bred to, and are consequently ignorant of; the labouring men are nearly idle in the winter, or obliged to work almost for their diet; and the women, who could so usefully employ themselves with the wheel, have nothing to do. It is time, my countrymen, to provide work, for those who are willing to do it, and those who will not (and are able)



ought not to eat. It will soon be time to sow your flaxseed: and should it excite one person "to do likewise," I shall be fully paid for relating my experience.

Some years ago, I manured an acre of land; sowed it with flaxseed; and, after it came off, ploughed the ground; and sowed nearly a bushel of wheat on it. I had about two hundred weight of excellent flax from the swingle, and rather more than ten bushels of seed; and of the wheat, twenty-four bushels and a half. I gained by the two crops seven pounds, clear of the rent of the land, and every expense and trouble attending it.

A FARMER.

*Chester county, March 5, 1787.*

*Remarks on the beneficial effects of a variation of crops—published by order of the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture.*

THE earth, in general, is a compound of vegetative matter, formed by nature, to propagate a variety of plants: and those salts, peculiar to each plant, must be extracted from the earth by each peculiar species of plant: for the land may have strength to bring good different crops one after another: but it seldom abounds with one kind of salt, sufficient to produce a good crop of the same grain, often repeated successively, unless the land be rich indeed, and the soil, with the climate, well adapted to that kind of grain, or plant, which is often so repeated; this remark, which will ever be found true, clearly points out the indispensable necessity of varying crops often, if not annually.

The foregoing observations I make to the society, for the benefit of their theoretical members; as, from their after practice, great advantage is to be expected towards improving agriculture in America; it being this class of men, fertile in genius, emu-

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lous to promote their country's good, and able to bear the expense, who in Europe have, by their laudable experiments, led the way for poor farmers to adopt a course of cropping. as approved at this day, in lieu of their forefathers' old established custom—The basis of this new method is founded on manure, especially from marle: and the superstructure is perfected by crops of pulse, artificial grass, and grain, which they raise alternately: and in this, systematically done, is comprised the mystery of real husbandry. Presuming the following remarks are not generally known, I insert them for the information of the public,

A more beneficial discovery has not been made in agriculture, than that of clover being an infallible preparative for a wheat crop. With once ploughing, I have sowed several hundred acres; and have seen thousands growing, yet never knew one crop to fail, although in some cases the land was poor: but it is particularly agreeable to rich land, as the straw will be strong, the ear large, and the stemming incredible. If ever a marvellous crop of wheat be raised on very rich ground, it must be in this way: for fallows produce a luxuriant tall straw, weak at the root, with a small ear which will fall.

In proof of the foregoing observations, let reason be attended to: clover grass affords rest to land, and keeps out weeds; the pasture produces feed in abundance for cattle; the soil of the cattle, with the vegetable salts contained in the large tap root and heart of the clover, afford vivid manure for wheat—One other advantage arising from this mode of farming, is, the furrows being whole and the root of the grain in them, it admits the water to drain from the root, and the surface of the ground will not rise with the frost, as fallows of fine mould are subject to do—the wheat, therefore, must stand the

M

winter much the best, if sowed after clover with one ploughing.

I shall conclude these remarks, with the method of sowing wheat on clover land; wishing the citizens of Philadelphia to put it in practice this fall, on some of their clover lots, which are in proper order.

Take an acre of clover land, that has been pastured quite to the ground; in the September of the second summer after it was sowed, turn it clean over with the plough; but before the two last furrows of each land are split, take a handful of wheat, and drop a little seed from between the thumb and fore-finger, along each furrow, throwing it before you, as you step along, and then split the two furrows, turning them on the wheat; if this be not done, the side of the lands will be bare. The same day it is ploughed, sow on the acre three pecks of clean seed-wheat, broadcast; after it is sowed, take a roller, and run over the lands the same way they are ploughed. When that is done, harrow it two or three times over the same way, until the seed be covered: but by no means harrow across the land: make the water furrows (if need be) with the spade, and turn the grass side of the fods downwards.



*Letter relative to the Hessian fly, from col. Morgan, to the president of the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture—published by said society.*

*Prospect, July 25, 1787.*

*Dear sir,*

MY information to the society, respecting the Hessian fly\*, would be incomplete, were I not to add my further remarks on this destructive insect, which, I am sorry to inform you, has crossed the Dela-

NOTE.

\* See vol. I. p. 329, of the first edition—or page 456 of the second.

ware, and will make considerable advances southward and westward the present season.

I think it proper to confirm every particular, mentioned in my letter of the twentieth of May, except such as I shall here differ in, from having had better opportunities, and from more attentive observations, than I have had it in my power to make until now.

Having hatched or bred a number of these insects, from the chrysalis into the fly state, last year and this, I became well acquainted with them, and watched all their motions.

As I have already described the egg, or nit, and chrysalis, I need now only say, that the fly, which proceeds from the latter, is at first of a white body, with long black legs, and whiskers, so small and motionless, as not to be easily perceived by the naked eye: but with a microscope they are very discernible. They soon, however, become black, and very nimble, as well on the wing, as feet; and about the size of a small ant.

The phial, which will be handed to you with this, contains a number of the flies, which were living and of their full growth, when I put them into it. I will also add a few of the nits, in which state it is that they destroy the wheat.

I have, during the height of the brood in June, where fifty or a hundred of these have been deposited in one stalk of wheat or barley, discovered them to twist and move, on being disturbed. This is while they are white. But they do not then travel from one stalk to another, nor to different parts of the same stalk.

The usual time of their spring hatching, from the chrysalis to the fly state, is in May. But this last season having been cold and backward, the fly did not make its appearance in my neighbourhood until June by which time the wheat was far ad-

wanted : and from the favourable-ness of the season in other respects, we have had good crops, notwithstanding there was not a stool of wheat in any of our fields but had the first shoot killed last fall. The grain is large and heavy in the bushel, contrary to our expectations, and the information we had received, as mentioned in my letter of the twentieth of May.

In my neighbourhood, this insect has made little impression upon the rye, which will induce our farmers to go principally upon that grain, instead of wheat : but we must entirely decline sowing fall and spring barley, and spring wheat. Oats and buckwheat escape their ravages altogether.

My barley promised well until June, at which time it was full of juices, and suited the taste of the insect, to that degree, as to occasion its almost total destruction. Here the roller can be of no use ; neither can it to wheat : as both are too forward to make use of it at this season.

Those, who are doubtful, whether the fly be in their neighbourhood, or cannot find their eggs or nits in the wheat, may satisfy themselves by opening their windows at night, and burning a candle in the room. The fly will enter in proportion to their numbers abroad.

The first night after the commencement of the wheat harvest, this season, they filled my dining room in such numbers, as to be exceedingly troublesome, in the eating and drinking vessels. Without exaggeration, I may say, that a glass tumbler from which beer had been just drunk, at dinner, had five hundred flies in it, within a few minutes. The windows are filled with them, when they desire to make their escape. They are very distinguishable from every other fly, by their horns or whiskers.

These circumstances will not ap-

pear trivial to you, nor any other lover of agriculture ; nor to the naturalist. Others will not read them.

In my letter of the twentieth of May, I mentioned a species of wheat grown on Long Island, said to resist the ravages of the fly, whilst every other kind of grain perishes under it : and I took the liberty to suggest to the society, the advantages which might arise to the public, from their sending an observant person to ascertain the fact. Some of my neighbours, to whom I made the like proposition, took up the matter : and one of them, Mr. Thomas Clark, who is not only a good farmer, but of perfect veracity, undertook to visit that part of Long Island, where the fly made its first appearance in 1778, and where it has continued ever since, although it is now greatly decreased—so much, indeed, that the inhabitants, in general, think they had none this season ; though Mr. Clark says, they are nearly as numerous as we have them here at this time. He has made his report to us in writing, as follows :

*Stony Brook, 7th mo. 20th, 1787.*

AGREEABLY to the request of my neighbours, and my promise, I left home on the twenty-ninth day of last month, and arrived at Long Island the day after.

On the best enquiry and examination I could make, during my stay there, which was until the fourth of this month, I satisfied myself in the following particulars, viz.

That the Hessian fly made its first appearance there about the year 1779, so as to injure, and, in some cases, to destroy their crops of wheat.

That their crops have failed more or less every year since, until the present year.

That their goodness this year is attributed to the introduction of a new species of wheat, which, from several years experience, is found to



withstand the attacks of the fly, so as to yield good crops, whilst every other kind of wheat has suffered considerably, or been wholly destroyed.

That the wheat, which has been so found to resist the fly, is a yellow bearded whea, not the red, nor the white bearded wheat.

That it was, first, accidentally introduced there, from a prize shallop, or schooner, in the year 1781, taken in the river Delaware, and carried into New York, from whence it was sent to I. Underhill's mill, on Long Island, to be ground.

That D. Underhill reserved some of it for seed, and sowed it with success, whilst his neighbours lost their crops. This encouraged him to persevere: and he spared some seed to others, from the idea, that as it was a different kind of wheat, its success might be owing to that. Their expectations were answered, whilst all other kinds of wheat failed wholl, or in part: insomuch that general conviction has now taken place: and little or no other wheat will be sown on that part of the island, as long as there are any appearances of the fly in the country.

These circumstances induced me to engage my seed wheat, whilst I was on the island: and I recommend to my neighbours who mean to sow wheat next fall, to send there for their seed. It may perhaps, be well for a number to join and send a person for the wheat, that no mischief may arise from getting foul grain. The price they hold their seed wheat at, is 10s. and 11s. New York money in specie, per bushel.

I find that the fly injures rye on Long Island, but very little, and oats not at all, nor buck wheat. But I could get no satisfactory information respecting barley.

(Signed.) T. CLARK.

This account includes all that I think necessary to communicate on the subject, except to add my sincere

wishes, that the farmers of Pennsylvania, and of the more southern states, may not suffer as those in East Jersey and Long Island have.

I remain, dear sir, your's, &c.

GEORGE MORGAN.

*Samuel Powel, esq. president of the agricultural society, Philadelphia.*



*Letters on the federal government: by Tench Coxe, esq.*

# LETTER I.

IT is impossible for an honest and feeling mind, of any nation or country whatever, to be insensible to the present circumstances of America. Were I an East Indian, or a Turk, I should consider this singular situation of a part of my fellow creatures, as most curious and interesting. Intimately connected with the country, as a citizen of the union, I confess it entirely engrosses my mind and feelings.

To take a proper view of the ground on which we stand, it may be necessary to recollect the manner in which the united states were originally settled and established. Want of charity in the religious systems of Europe, and of justice in their political governments, were the principal moving causes, which drove the emigrants of various countries to the American continent. The congregationalists, quakers, presbyterians, and other British dissenters, the catholics of England and Ireland, the hugonots of France, the German Lutherans, Calvinists, and Moravians, with several other societies, established themselves in the different colonies, thereby laying the ground of that catholicism in ecclesiastical affairs, which has been observable since the late revolution. Religious liberty naturally promotes corresponding dispositions in matters of governments. The constitution of England, as it stood on paper, was one of the freest at that time in the world: and the A-



American colonies considered themselves as entitled to the fullest enjoyment of it. Thus, when the ill-judged discussions of late times, in England, brought into question the rights of this country, as it stood connected with the British crown, we were found more strongly impressed with their importance, and accurately acquainted with their extent, than the wisest and most learned of our brethren beyond the Atlantic. When the greatest names in parliament insisted on the power of that body over the commerce of the colonies, and even the right to bind us in all cases whatsoever, America, seeing that it was only another form of tyranny, insisted upon the immutable truth, that taxation and representation are inseparable; and, while a desire of harmony and other considerations induced her into an acquiescence in the commercial regulations of Great Britain, it was done from the declared necessity of the case, and with a cautious full and absolute saving of our voluntarily-suspended rights. The parliament was persevering; and America continued firm till hostilities and open war commenced, and finally the late revolution closed the contest for ever.

'Tis evident from this short detail, and the reflexions which arise from it, that the quarrel between the united states and the parliament of Great Britain, did not arise so much from objections to the form of government, though undoubtedly a better one by far, is now within our reach, as from a difference concerning certain important rights, resulting from the essential privileges of liberty, which the constitution preserved to all subjects actually residing within the realm. It was not asserted by America, that the people of the island of Great Britain were slaves; but that we, though possessed absolutely of the same rights, were not admitted to enjoy an equal degree of freedom.

When the declaration of independence completed the separation between the two countries, new governments were necessarily established. Many circumstances led to the adoption of the republican form, among which was the predilection of the people. In devising the frames of government, it may have been difficult to avoid extremes opposite to the vices of that we had just rejected: nevertheless many of the state constitutions we have chosen, are truly excellent. Our misfortunes have been, that in the first instance we adopted no national government at all; but were kept together by common danger only; and that in the confusions of a civil war, we framed a federal constitution, now universally admitted to be inadequate to the preservation of liberty, property, and the union. The question is not, then, how far our state constitutions are good or otherwise—the object of our wishes is, to amend and supply the evident and allowed errors and defects of the federal government. Let us consider awhile, that which is now proposed to us—let us compare it with the so-much-boasted British form of government; and see how much more it favours the people and how completely it secures their rights; remembering, at the same time, that we did not dissolve our connexion with that country so much on account of its constitution, as the perversion and mal-administration of it.

In the first place, let us look at the nature and powers of the head of that country, and those of the ostensible head of ours.

The British king is the great bishop or supreme head of an established church, with an immense patronage annexed. In this capacity, he commands a number of votes in the house of lords, by creating bishops, who, besides their great incomes, have votes in that assembly, and are judges in the last resort. They

have also many honourable and lucrative places to bestow; and thus from their wealth, learning, dignities, powers, and patronage, give a great lustre and an enormous influence to the crown.

In America, our president will not only be without these influencing advantages, but they will be in the possession of the people at large, to strengthen their hands in the event of a contest with him. All religious funds, honours, and powers, are in the gift of numberless unconnected, disunited, and contending corporations, wherein the principle of perfect equality universally prevails. In short, danger from ecclesiastical tyranny, that long-standing and still-remaining curse of the people—that sacrilegious engine of royal power in some countries, can be feared by no man in the united states. In Britain, their king is for life—in America, our president will always be one of the people, at the end of four years. In that country the king is hereditary, and may be an idiot, a knave, or a tyrant by nature, or ignorant from neglect of his education, yet cannot be removed; for “he can do no wrong.” In America, as the president is to be one of the people, at the end of his short term, so will he and his fellow citizens remember, that he was originally one of the people; and that he is created by their breath. Further, he cannot be an idiot, probably not a knave or tyrant: for those whom nature makes so, discover it before the age of thirty-five, until which period he cannot be elected. It appears, we have not admitted that he can do no wrong, but have rather pre-supposed he may and will sometimes do wrong, by providing for his impeachment, his trial, and his peaceable and complete removal.

In England, the king has a power to create members of the upper house, who are judges in the highest court, as well as legislators. Our

president not only cannot make members of the upper house; but their creation, like his own, is by the people, through their representatives: and a member of assembly may and will be as certainly dismissed at the end of his year for electing a weak or wicked senator, as for any other blunder or misconduct.

The king of England has legislative power; while our president can only use it when the other servants of the people are divided. But in all great causes, affecting the national interests or safety, his modified and restrained power must give way to the sense of two-thirds of the legislature. In fact, it amounts to no more, than a serious duty imposed upon him, to request both houses to reconsider any matter on which he entertains doubts or feels apprehensions: and here the people have a strong hold upon him from his sole and personal responsibility.

The president of the upper house (or the chancellor) in England, is appointed by the king; while our vice-president, who is chosen by the people, through the electors and the senate, is not at all dependent on the president, but may exercise equal powers on some occasions. In all royal governments, an helpless infant or an inexperienced youth, may wear the crown. Our president must be matured by the experience of years: and being born among us, his character at thirty-five must be fully understood. Wisdom, virtue, and active qualities of mind and body can alone make him the first servant of a free and enlightened people.

Our president will fall very far short indeed of any prince in his annual income, which will not be hereditary, but the absolute allowance of the people, passing thro’ the hands of their other servants from year to year, as it becomes necessary. There will be no burdens on the nation, to provide for his heir, or other branches of

his family. 'Tis probable, from the state of property in America, and other circumstances, that many citizens will exceed him in shew and expense—those dazzling trappings of kingly rank and power. He will have no authority to make a treaty, without two thirds of the senate, nor can he appoint ambassadors or other great officers, without their approbation; which will remove the idea of patronage and influence, and of personal obligation and dependence. The appointment of even the inferior officers may be taken out of his hands by an act of congress at any time. He can create no nobility or titles of honour, nor take away offices during good behaviour. His person is not so much protected as that of a member of the house of representatives: for he may be proceeded against like any other man in the ordinary course of law. He appoints no officer of the separate states. He will have no influence from placemen in the legislature, nor can he prorogue or dissolve it. He will have no power over the treasures of the state: and, lastly, as he is created through the electors, by the people at large, he must ever look up to the support of his creators. From such a servant, with powers so limited and transitory, there can be no danger, especially when we consider the solid foundations on which our national liberties are immovably fixed, by the other provisions of this excellent constitution. Whatever of dignity or authority he possesses, is a delegated part of their majesty and their political importance, transiently vested in him by the people themselves, for their own happiness.—Philadel. Sept. 16.

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LETTER II.

**W**E have seen, that the late honourable convention, in designating the nature of the chief executive office of the united states, have

deprived it of all the dangerous appendages of royalty, and provided for the frequent expiration of its limited powers. As our president bears no resemblance to a king, so we shall see the senate have no similitude to nobles.

First, then, not being hereditary, their collective knowledge, wisdom, and virtue are not precarious; for by these qualities alone they are to obtain their offices: and they will have none of the peculiar follies and vices of those men, who possess power merely because their fathers held it before them: for they will be educated (under equal advantages, and with equal prospects) among and on a footing with the other sons of a free people. If we recollect the characters, who have, at various periods filled the seats of congress, we shall find this expectation perfectly reasonable. Many young men of genius, and many characters of more matured abilities, without fortunes, have been honoured with that trust. Wealth has had but few representatives there: and these have been generally possessed of respectable personal qualifications. There have also been many instances of persons, not eminently endowed with mental qualities, who have been sent thither from a reliance on their virtues, public and private. As the senators are still to be elected by the legislatures of the states, there can be no doubt of equal safety and propriety in their future appointment, especially as no further pecuniary qualification is required by the constitution.

They can hold no other office, civil or military under the united states; nor can they join in making provisions for themselves, either by creating new places, or increasing the emoluments of old ones. As their sons are not to succeed them, they will not be induced to aim at an increase or perpetuity of their powers, at the expense of the liberties of the people, of which those sons will be a part. They possess a much smaller share of the ju-



dicial power than the upper house in Britain; for they are not, as there, the highest court in civil affairs. Impeachments alone are the cases cognizable before them: and in what other place could matters of that nature be so properly and safely determined? The judges of the federal courts will owe their appointments to the president and senate; therefore may not feel so perfectly free from favour, affection, and influence, as the upper house, who receive their power from the people, through their state representatives, and are immediately responsible to those assemblies, and finally to the nation at large. Thus we see when a daring or dangerous offender is brought to the bar of public justice, the people, who alone can impeach him by their immediate representatives, will cause him to be tried, not by judges appointed in the heat of the occasion, but by two thirds of a select body, chosen a long time before, for various purposes by the collected wisdom of the state legislatures. From a pretence or affectation of extraordinary purity and excellence of character, their word of honour is the sanction, under which these high courts in other countries, have given their sentence: but with us, like the other judges of the union, like the rest of the people, of which they are never to forget they are a part, it is required that they be upon oath.

No ambitious, undeserving, or inexperienced youth can acquire a seat in this house by means of the most enormous wealth, or most powerful connexions, till thirty years have ripened his abilities, and fully discovered his merits to his country—a more rational ground of preference surely than mere property.

The senate, though more independent of the people, as to the free exercise of their judgment and abilities, than the house of representatives, by the longer term of their office, must be older and more experienced men; and the public treasures, the sinews of

the state, cannot be called forth by their original motion. They may restrain the profusion or errors of the house of representatives: but they cannot take the necessary measures to raise a national revenue.

The people, through the electors, prescribe them such a president as shall be best qualified to controul them.

They can only, by conviction on impeachment, remove and incapacitate a dangerous officer: but the punishment of him as a criminal, remains within the province of the courts of law, to be conducted under all the ordinary forms and precautions, which exceedingly diminishes the importance of their judicial powers. They are detached, as much as possible, from local prejudices in favour of their respective states, by having a separate and independent vote; for the sensible and conscientious use of which, every member will find his person, honour, and character seriously bound. He cannot shelter himself, under a vote in behalf of his state, among his immediate colleagues. As there are only two, he cannot be voluntarily or involuntarily governed by the majority of the deputation. He will be obliged, by wholesome provisions, to attend his public duty; and thus in great national questions must give a vote, of the honesty of which, he will find it necessary to convince his constituents.

The senate must always receive the exceptions of the president against any of their legislative acts; which, without serious deliberation and sufficient reasons, they will seldom disregard. They will also feel a considerable check from the constitutional powers of the state legislatures, whose rights they will not be disposed to infringe; since they are the bodies to which they owe their existence, and are moreover to remain the immediate guardians of the people.

And lastly, the senate will feel the mighty check of the house of repre-



rives—a body so pure in its election, so intimately connected, by its interests and feelings, with the people at large, so guarded against corruption and influence—so much, from its nature, above all apprehensions, that it must ever be able to maintain the high ground assigned it by the federal constitution.

Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1787.

### LETTER III.

**I**N pursuing the consideration of the new federal constitution, it remains now to examine the nature and powers of the house of representatives—the immediate delegates of the people.

Each member of this truly popular assembly will be chosen by about six thousand electors, by the poor as well as the rich. No decayed or venal borough will have an unjust share in their determinations: no old Sarum will send thither a representative by the voice of a single elector\*. As we shall have no royal ministers to purchase votes, so we shall have no votes for sale: for the suffrages of six thousand enlightened and independent freemen are above all price. When the increasing population of the country shall render the body too large, at the rate of one member for every thirty thousand persons, they will be returned at the greater rate of one for every forty or fifty thousand; which will render the electors still more incorruptible. For this regulation is only designed to prevent a smaller number than thirty thousand from having a representative. Thus we see, a provision follows, that no state shall have less than one member: for if a new and greater number should hereafter be fixed on, which should exceed the whole of the inhabitants of any state, such state,

#### NOTE.

\* This is the case with that British borough.

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without this wholesome provision, would lose its voice in the house of representatives—a circumstance which the constitution renders impossible.

The people of England, whose house of commons is filled with military and civil officers and pensioners, say, their liberties would be perfectly secured by triennial parliaments. With us, no placemen can sit among the representatives of the people, and two years are the constitutional term of their existence. Here, again, lest wealth, powerful connexions, or even the unweariness of the people, should place in this important trust an undeserving, unqualified, or inexperienced youth, the wisdom of the convention has proposed an absolute incapacity till the age of twenty-five. At twenty-one, a young man is made the guardian of his own interests: but he cannot, for a few years more, be intrusted with the affairs of the nation. He must be an inhabitant of the state that elects him, that he may be intimately acquainted with their particular circumstances. The house of representatives is not, as the senate, to have a president chosen for them, from without their body, but are to elect their speaker from their own number. They will also appoint all their other officers. In great state cases, they will be the grand inquest of the nation; for they possess the sole and uncontrollable power of impeachment. They are neither to wait the call, nor abide the prorogations and dissolutions of a perverse or ambitious prince: for they are to meet at least once in every year, and sit on adjournments, to be agreed on between themselves and the other servants of the people. Should they differ in opinion, the president, who is a temporary fellow servant, and not their hereditary master, has a mediatorial power to adjust it for them; but cannot prevent their constitutional meeting within the year. They can compel the attendance of their members, that their public duty may not be evaded

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in times of difficulty or danger—The vote of each representative can be always known, as well as the proceedings of the house, that so the people may be acquainted with the conduct of those in whom they repose so important a trust. As was observed of the senators, they cannot make new offices for themselves; nor increase, for their own benefit, the emoluments of old ones, by which the people will be exempted from needless additions to the public expenses on such sordid and mercenary principles. They are not to be restrained from the firm and plain language, which becomes the independent representatives of freemen; for there is to be a perfect liberty of speech. Without their consent no monies can be obtained, no armies raised, no navies provided. They, alone, can originate bills for drawing forth the revenues of the union: and they will have a negative upon every legislative act of the other house.—So far, in short, as the sphere of federal jurisdiction extends, they will be controulable only by the people: and, in contentions with the other branch, so far as they shall be right, they must ever finally prevail.

Such, my countrymen, are some of the cautionary provisions of the frame of government your faithful convention have submitted to your consideration—such the foundations of peace, liberty, and safety, which have been laid by their unwearied labours. They have guarded you against all servants, but those, “whom choice and common good ordain,” against all masters, “save preserving Heaven.”

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

Philadelphia, Sept. 29, 1787.

Remarks on several ludicrous advertisements.

MR. PRINTER,

I Am extremely fond of newspapers, and indulge myself in feasting upon all I meet with. If any thing occur in them, which pleases my fancy, I note it down in my com-

mon-place book: and as this has been my practice for many years, you may easily suppose I have a curious collection. I could keep you laughing a week at least. But this collection is not intended for public use: it is at the service of only select friends. Among other things, there are in it *improprieties in advertisements*, some of which I have concluded to send you for publication; as they may be useful in preventing similar ones in future.

The first I shall mention, is an advertisement published by a person who styles himself “A gentleman of considerable experience in the *law line*.” Is it not rational to suppose the “law line” to mean a *halter*? What, then, should we suppose this gentleman’s experience means? Certainly, that he had followed the honourable and useful employment of common *hangman*, or that he had been *hanged himself, until he was almost dead*. This is a very natural supposition. But it appeared by the sequel, that the only idea he intended to convey, was, that he had served a regular apprenticeship to a lawyer, and was himself a considerable practitioner.

Another gentleman, of the same profession, advertises “the *premises following* to be sold.” A scholar will immediately see the impropriety of the expression: but for the sake of the unlearned, it is necessary to observe, that *premises* signify *things preceding or going before*; so that “*premises following*” are, in plain English, *the foregoing things following*, which must be strange things, to be sure!

And yet things may be placed in such a situation, as both to *go before* and *follow*, at the same time, though not with respect to the same object—Suppose, for instance, A, B, C, to be three ganders walking in the order in which I have placed them; Certainly goes before C, and at the same time follows A: however, this was

not the case with "the premises;" for they all followed.

A man informed us through the medium of the news-paper, that his wife had eloped; and added, "this is therefore to forewarn all persons to trust her; as I am determined to pay no debts," &c.—I think he would have treated the public more civilly, had he forewarned them *not* to trust her, as he had determined not to pay debts contracted by her: for how could he suppose; others would be willing to trust her, when she had lost all credit with him, who must be best acquainted with her character and circumstances?—It was an insult offered to our understandings. Perhaps he meant, that we should *not* trust her; then he should have said so.

The following is the most singular advertisement, I ever met with.—"To be sold the south part of Abraham Lawrence's neck."—Extraordinary as it is, it certainly appeared in the news-paper, or it never would have been in my common-place-book.—Pray can you tell, which is the *south* part of a man's neck? I remember, that when I studied geography, my preceptor taught me always to consider the *upper* part of the map as *north*, unless a compass on it gave different information: for this reason I should conclude, that the lower part of a man's neck (or that next to his shoulders) must be the *south* part; but perhaps I may be mistaken.—A number of curious questions will naturally obtrude themselves here, as, why a man should propose to sell part of himself at all? why he might not as well sell himself together? why he should prefer a part of *his neck*, to any other part, for this purpose? &c. &c. But these are more properly subjects of speculation for a *society of gentlemen*; as one mind is hardly equal to the *disquisition*.—If the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge, or the

American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston, should undertake the investigation, the result of their enquiry would doubtless be pleasing, if not useful to the public. However, lest they should be induced to spend as much time in this business, as it is said the Royal Society did in enquiring into the cause of a man's having hair on one leg and none on the other (which he had shaved) I will just hint to them, that as "a house and barn, and about 250 acres of upland," were mentioned in the advertisement, it is to be supposed that a piece of land, and not his *natural neck*, is intended.

In a late Massachusetts paper, is this notice: "The *select men* of Boston acquaint the inhabitants, that they laid before the grand jury, now sitting, the matter respecting the calf (whose dam was bit by a dog supposed to be mad) who could not find sufficient cause for presentment against the supposed offender. The *select men*, however, have ordered the several parts of said veal, brought to market, to be buried six feet under ground." There could be no doubt but the authors of this paragraph were *select men*, even if they had not told us so; for the *common mass* of mankind could not furnish a similar piece of composition—Let us analyse it. "The calf (whose dam was bit by a dog supposed to be mad) who could not find sufficient cause for a presentment."—A parenthesis contains something which may be omitted, without injuring either the sense or reading:—omit it upon this occasion; then we have "the *calf*, who could not find sufficient cause for presentment." Thus we find the antecedent, to which *who* relates, and it turns out to be a *calf*, and a dead one too. Who under heaven (except a very few *select* persons) would ever expect such a beast to know any thing about presentments or the causes of them? Ill-natured men might

be led, by the construction of this sentence, to think a reflexion was intended, either upon the jury generally, or their foreman in particular: but I cannot allow myself to suppose the select men of Boston would be guilty of such rudeness; and therefore prefer ascribing this particular mode of expression to a *defect in grammatical knowledge*, which may be easily accounted for, by supposing the writer to be a *young gentleman*, the completion of whose studies might have been prevented by the commencement of hostilities at *Lexington*, and the long war which ensued. But to proceed:—this same calf “could not find sufficient cause, for a presentment against the *supposed offender*.”—The reader is left altogether in the dark as to the *offender* intended here. I have studied this point ‘till my head almost akes; but cannot satisfactorily ascertain, who was the offender.

The only antecedents in the sentence are, the select men of Boston, the inhabitants, the grand jury, the calf, its dam, and a dog supposed to be mad. It is evident, that neither of the first three could have been intended: it is equally so, that the fourth could not; for the *calf* was to judge of the cause of presentment. It would be unjust to accuse the calf’s dam of the offence, because she was clearly the *offendee*, and not the *offender*; and being bit (by the bye *bitten* would have been more grammatical) was her misfortune, and not her crime: wherefore, accusing her would not only be unjust, but cruel.

The only remaining object of accusation, is “the dog supposed to be mad.” But here difficulties occur too: for who ever heard of a mad dog’s being *presented*? If even a *calf* were to find *billa vera* in this case, we should pronounce it to be as mad, as the dog was supposed to be: and a jury, a *grand jury*, who should do it, must be much more so. Who, then, was the offender? Aye, that’s the rub! Why, in truth, I cannot find out: and having reached my *ne plus ultra* in conjecture, I shall leave it to the select men of Boston to determine. From the obscurity of this paragraph, and the use of the phrase, “*said veal*,” I should be inclined to think, one of the order of lawyers was the draftsman of it: but though the obscurity would justify such a conjecture, it can hardly be supposed, that a person, accustomed to legal precision, would introduce “*said veal*,” when veal had not been mentioned before. Upon the whole, this is, in every point of view, a most perplexing paragraph. The more I consider it, the more difficulties occur. I shall therefore leave it, as I found it.

It was my intention to have said something about the correctors of our presses, who frequently suffer errors of great consequence to escape their notice (such as—ground to be sold by a sheriff, to “*ratify*” a judgment—so *fragrant* an infringement of the laws, as an attempt to rob a shop, &c.) but I fear, I have already trespassed on your patience.



Address to gen. Washington. By Philip Freneau. Written anno 1781.

ACCEPT, great chief, that share of honest praise,  
A grateful people to your merit pays:  
Verse is too mean your virtues to display,  
And words too weak our meaning to convey.  
When first proud Britain rais'd her heavy hand,  
With claims unjust to bind your native land,  
Transported armies, and her millions spent,  
T' enforce the mandates, that a tyrant sent;  
' Resist! Resist!' was heard through ev'ry state.  
You heard the call, and mourn'd your country's fate:  
Then rising, hence, her sons in arms array'd,



And taught to vanquish those who dar'd invade.

Those British chiefs, whom former wars had crown'd  
With conquest—and in ev'ry clime renown'd,—  
Who forc'd new realms to own their monarch's law,  
And whom e'en George beheld with secret awe—  
Those mighty chiefs, compell'd to fly or yield,  
Scarce dar'd to meet you on th' embattled field:  
To Boston's town you chas'd the trembling crew:  
Quick e'en from thence, the British ruffians flew;  
Through wintry waves they fled; and thought the sea,  
With all its storms, less terrible than thee!

What chief, like you, our armies could command,  
And bring us safely to the promis'd land?—  
Not, Clinton-like, with victory elate—  
'Tis in misfortune you are doubly great.

When Howe, victorious, thy weak army chas'd,  
And, sure of conquest, laid Cefarea waste—  
When prostrate, bleeding, at his feet she lay,  
And the proud victor tore her wreaths away—  
You, undismay'd, put forth your warlike hand,  
And rais'd the drooping genius of the land;  
Repell'd the foe, their choicest warriors slain;  
And drove them, howling, to their ships again.

While others kindle into martial rage,  
Whom fierce ambition urges to engage,  
An iron race by angry heav'n design'd  
To conquer first, and then enslave mankind;  
In you, a hero more humane we see:  
You venture life, that others may be free.  
O! may you live, to hail that glorious day,  
When Britain homeward shall pursue her way—  
That race subdu'd, who fill'd the world with slain,  
And rode tyrannic o'er the subject main!  
What few presum'd, you boldly have achiev'd,  
A tyrant humbled, and a world reliev'd.

Rome's boasted chiefs, who, to their own disgrace,  
Prov'd the worst scourges of the human race,  
Pierc'd by whose darts a thousand nations bled,  
Who captive princes at their chariots led—  
Born to enslave, to ravage and subdue—  
Return to nothing, when compar'd to you.  
Throughout the world thy growing fame has spread:  
In ev'ry country are thy virtues read.  
Remotest India hears thy deeds of fame:  
The hardy Scythian flammers at thy name:  
The haughty Turk, now longing to be free,  
Neglects his sultan, to enquire of thee:  
The barb'rous Briton hails thee to his shores,  
And calls him "rebel"—whom his heart adores!

Still may the heav'n's prolong thy vital date,  
And still may conquest on thy banners wait:  
Whether afar to ravag'd lands you go,  
Where wild Patowmac's rapid waters flow,  
Or where Saluda laves the fertile plain—  
And, swoln by torrents, rushes to the main—  
Or if again to Hudson you repair,  
To smite the cruel foe that lingers there—  
Revenge their cause, whose virtue was their crime,  
The exil'd hosts from Carolina's clime.

Late from the world in quiet may'st thou rise,  
 And, mourn'd by millions, reach thy native skies—  
 With patriot kings and gen'rous chiefs to shine,  
 Whose virtues rais'd them to be deem'd divine!  
 May Louis only equal honours claim,  
 Alike in merit and alike in fame.

*On the love of our country.*

**Y**E souls illustrious, who, in days of yore,  
 With peerless might the British target bore—  
 Who, clad in wolf-skin, from the scythed car,  
 Frown'd on the iron brow of mailed war—  
 Who dar'd your rudely-painted limbs oppose  
 To temper'd steel, and skill of Roman foes—  
 And ye, of later age, not less in fame,  
 In tilt and tournament, the princely game  
 Of Arthur's barons, wont by hardiell sport  
 To claim the fairest guerdon of the court—  
 Say, holy shades, did e'er your gen'rous blood  
 Roll thro' your faithful sons in nobler flood,  
 Than when, of late, fair Liberty unfurl'd  
 Her injur'd banners o'er the western world?  
 Your brave descendants heard the voice around,  
 And, swains till then, turn'd heroes at the sound.  
 Say, holy shades, did patriotic heat  
 In your big hearts with quicker transports beat,  
 Than in your sons, when forth like storms they pour'd,  
 In freedom's cause, the fury of the sword—  
 And bade Quebec and Saratoga tell,  
 How Gates subdued, and how Montgomery fell?  
 Poor is his triumph and disgrac'd his name,  
 Who draws the sword for empire, wealth, or fame.  
 For him tho' wealth be blown in ev'ry wind,  
 Tho' fame announce him mightiest of mankind,  
 Tho' twice ten nations crouch beneath his blade—  
 Virtue disowns him; and his glories fade:  
 For him no pray'rs are pour'd, no paeans sung,  
 No blessings chaunted from a nation's tongue.  
 Blood marks the path to his untimely bier:  
 The curse of widows, and the orphan's tear,  
 Cry to high heav'ns for vengeance on his head—  
 Alive deferred, and accurs'd when dead.  
 Indignant of his deeds, the muse who sings  
 Undaunted truths, and scorns to flatter kings,  
 Shall shew the monster in his hideous form,  
 And mark him as an earthquake or a storm.  
 Not so the patriot chief, who dares withstand  
 The base invaders of his native land—  
 Who makes her weal his noblest, only end—  
 Rules but to serve her, fights but to defend—  
 Her voice in council, and in fight her sword,  
 Lov'd as a father, barely not ador'd;  
 Who, firmly virtuous, and humanely brave,  
 Strives not to conquer fellow-men, but save.  
 On worth like his the muse delights to wait,  
 Reveres alike in triumph, or defeat;  
 Crowns with true glory, and with spotless fame,

And, fix'd on his, forgets proud Fred'ric's name,  
 In times like these, if such a man there be,  
 Who does not feel, that WASHINGTON is he?  
 Hail, first of patriots! form'd by heav'n's own hand,  
 First to preserve, then teach thy native land:  
 Whose arm was nerv'd by freedom, when he fought,  
 Whose pen bright wisdom guided while he wrote—  
 Whose conduct seals the lessons he has taught—  
 From whose wise page Columbia's rising youth  
 Must gather public honour, faith, and truth;  
 There learn by times, that freedom's sacred cause  
 Must sink, when faction bursts the gen'rous laws,  
 By wisdom fram'd, the wayward to controul;  
 And from the public body tears the soul.  
 Hail happy man! thy animating name  
 To latest times shall kindle freedom's flame,  
 The grateful breath of future myriads fire,  
 When heav'n taught bards shall strike the sounding lyre,  
 And tell them, glowing with a conscious pride,  
 Thou wast their chief, deliv'rer, parent, guide.  
 Illustrious warriors, late Columbia's boast,  
 Who, in the noblest cause, were nobly lost,  
 Fain would the muse here check her bold career,  
 To drop o'er you a monumental tear;  
 But from your ashes, hark! a voice proceeds,  
 "That slain is he, who for his country bleeds."  
 This bids us not your envied fate to rue,  
 But in your brave survivors honour you.  
 Dear is the tie that links the anxious sire,  
 To the fond babe that prattles round his fire:  
 Dear is the love that prompts the grateful youth  
 A parent's cares and drooping age to soothe:  
 Dear is the sister, brother, husband, wife,  
 Dear all the charities of social life:  
 Nor wants firm friendship holy wreaths, to bind,  
 In mutual sympathy, the faithful mind,  
 But not th' endearing springs that fondly move  
 To filial duty or parental love—  
 Not all the ties that kindred bosoms bind—  
 Nor all in friendship's holy wreaths entwined,  
 Are half so dear, so potent to controul  
 The gen'rous workings of the patriot's soul,  
 As is that holy voice, that cancels all  
 Those ties, and bids him for his country fall.  
 At this high summons, with undaunted zeal,  
 He bares his breast, invites th' impending steel,  
 Smiles at the hand, that deals the fatal blow,  
 Nor heaves one sigh for all he leaves below,  
 Nor yet does glory, though her boast be bold,  
 Her aspect radiant, and her tresses gold,  
 Guide through the walks of death alone her car,  
 Attendant only on the din of war:  
 She ne'er disdains the gentle vale of peace,  
 Or olive shades of philosophic ease,  
 Where heav'n-taught minds, to woo the muse resort,  
 Create in colours, or with sounds transport,

Where freedom's senate form'd the noblest plan,  
 That e'er compris'd the various rights of man;  
 More pleas'd on Hudson's silent marge to roam,  
 Than lead her captive foes in triumph home;  
 Where Pennsylvania's polish'd farmer greets  
 The home-born pleasures of his calm retreats;  
 And far from strife a chosen few among  
 Pours the mellifluous wisdom of his tongue.  
 Thus safely landed on some friendly shore,  
 The seamen smile while distant tempests roar.  
 To read with Newton's ken the starry sky,  
 And God the same in all his orbs descry,  
 With Franklin, nature's hidden paths explore,  
 To point at causes never known before,  
 Disarm the storm, and bid the lightning's fire,  
 Rush innocently down the guardian wire,  
 To lead forth merit from her lonely shade,  
 Extend to rising arts a patron's aid,  
 Build the nice structure of the gen'rous law,  
 That holds the freeborn soul in willing awe,  
 To swell the sail of trade, the barren plain,  
 To bid with fruitage blush, and wave with grain,  
 O'er pale misfortune drop, with friendly sigh,  
 Pity's mild balm, and wipe affliction's eye—  
 These, these are deeds Columbia must approve,  
 Must nurse their growth with all a parent's love.  
 These are the deeds her Washington pursues—  
 The public good still cent'ring all his views.  
 These are the deeds that public virtue owns,  
 And, just to public virtue, glory crowns.

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